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Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

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"The Peculiar Institution."

From the Christian Citizen.

HORRIBLE.

The following narrative was related to a Friend during a recent visit to Orange county, Indiana.

Some time since, a stranger came into that county, so white that he was not suspected of having any African blood in his veins. After residing there sometime, he married a white woman, went to house-keeping, and was quietly enjoying the comforts of domestic life, sustaining the character of an honest and upright man, when an old acquaintance of his visited the neighborhood and recognized him as the slave of a Kentuckian. He gave the information to some of the neighbors of the white fugitive, two of whom, (one formerly a member of the Society of Friends,) waylaid the poor man, caught him, conveyed him to his former master, and continued there until the object of their cupidity was sold, that they might obtain a part of the price as the reward of their diabolical act. Is it not horrible to know that we have such monsters of depravity in Indiana, and that in a land of professed liberty and law, they should escape unwhipped of justice? It is a burning reproach to the public sentiment, to the state of moral feeling existing among us, that such villains are not frowned out of countenance, and compelled by the indignant scorn of an insulted community, to shun the light of day, and to hide their guilty heads in shame and confusion. But while slaveholders receive the highest honors in the power of the people to bestow—while the great villain who robs sixty or a hundred men, women, and children, of all their earnings, and of themselves in the bargain, is idolized and elevated to the highest office in the Government, those little villains will be kept in countenance and encouraged in their———I had almost said worse than devilish deeds.

The following advertisement is from the *Mississippian*. What must be the public sentiment of a community, in which such advertisements can be published as matters not at all out of the common way? The Mississippian, by the way, is a thorough *Democratic* paper!

"COMMITTED to jail in this place, on the 26th of April last, a runaway slave—a negro woman who calls her name CREESY, and says she belongs to William Barrow, of Carroll county, Mississippi; said woman is stout built, five feet four inches high, and appears to be about twenty years old; *she has a band of iron on each ancle, and a trace chain round her neck, fastened with a common padlock.*

"J. N. SPENCER, Jailor."

From the Voice of Freedom.

FUGITIVES FROM SLAVERY—"STILL THEY COME."

Some four or five weeks ago, two fugitives came along, and on Saturday evening last, a young man called at my house on his way to a "land of freedom!" We gladly furnished him food, as I presume we have fifty others in six years, and this week gave him as good directions as the circumstances of the case would admit of. He was from Maryland and stated that seventeen pieces of property, somewhat like himself in form, made their escape, at the same time. This one had the brand of a half moon put on his cheek with a hot iron, that the owner might know and describe him. Has not a man a right to put such brand on his property as he may please? This stranger, in a *very* "strange land," said he was brought from Africa when a child, as was also his mother, and a brother, and two sisters, but he knew not where his father was. It seems from the history he gave, that the tribe to which his father and family belonged, fought with another tribe—was conquered, and these were sold to the slave-traders, and thence shipped to this country. This trade, according to the laws of the country, renders the perpetrators worthy of *death!* Will some friend of Henry Clay or James K. Polk, or some apologist for American Slavery, show me the difference between compelling a person to come from Africa—that land of darkness, and serve here as a *slave*, or to kidnap a child *here*, as soon as it is born, and compel it to drag out a life in abject bondage? My vision is so obtuse that I cannot see the difference, and will thank some one to show it. If the difference cannot be shown, the laws respecting foreign slave-trading should be abolished, or slaveholders and slave-traders in this country, are worthy of the most severe punishment, and cannot be worthy of promotion to posts of honor and profit. I trust the time will soon come, when the people, who will take the life of a man for committing a certain act, that they will not make him President of the United States when guilty of carrying out the *same principle*, but in another place.

From the Bangor Gazette.

A TRUE STORY.

Messrs. Editors:—The following story was related to me a few months since, by a highly respectable citizen of Piscataquis county, the circumstances having fallen under his observation while on a business tour in Georgia, in the fall of '43. It may be relied upon as strictly true, as the narrator was in no way in favor of Abolition or the Liberty Party, but rather in favor of the "Peculiar Institution."

"While in Georgia, Mr. C. took lodging with a Mr. H. owner of some fifteen or twenty slaves. One of the number was a stout, intelligent young man; very bright when his opportunities were taken into consideration. This young man was frequently punished in a cruel manner for his faults, however few they might be. After experiencing abuse and suffering year after year, which grew more and more intolerable, he chose to run the risk of enjoying more liberty in the swamps and bogs of Georgia, with all their loathsome reptiles, or of being released from his suffering by death, if taken, rather than suffer such inhuman barbarity as he had been accustomed to. Consequently, one night, after having been the subject of his master's cruelty through the day, he fled, making his way to the nearest swamp. As soon as it was discovered that he had fled, he was followed by Mr. H. and his son, and Mr. C. my informant, who were led by a pack of hounds kept for the purpose. Mr. H. after following some time, however, concluded to return, being fatigued, and left his son and Mr. C. to pursue the human chattel. The hounds soon warned the poor fellow by their yelping, which told heavily and mournfully upon his ears, that he was pursued. Expecting to receive more mercy from men than from the dogs, he took shelter in a tree to secure himself from the ferocity of the latter, and that he might better plead for pardon or better usage with the former. On coming to the tree where he was lodged, he was immediately ordered down; but not obeying so soon as the young man thought he ought to, he cast his oaken walking staff at him with such force that he brought him to the ground, *when he immediately expired.* Upon discovering that he was really dead, a hole was dug in the ground, in which, freed from his sufferings, he was deposited with his rags. When the party returned and informed the owner that he had killed his slave, he replied, "that it was a pity, really a pity, to lose him, as he was worth five hundred dollars, but he possessed too much intelligence to be a slave."

TALES OF OPPRESSION—BY Rev. CHARLES T. TORREY.

A colored man, poor, free, of good character, belonging in Frederick county, Maryland, went into Pennsylvania with a drove of cattle, and was gone more than the legal twenty days. On his return, two miscreants, utterly worthless in purse and character, but with whitish faces, complained of him, got him in jail, and in various ways contrived to run up the bill of fines and costs to over $70. For this he was *sold as a slave for life*, purchased by a slave-trader in this city, and sent to the far South. It was this summer.

Another case: A certain Dr. D———, of Howard district, sent to this jail an old *black* man, his wife, a light mulatto woman, and *her four* little children, *all whiter* than their mother! Two of them, the woman said, were her master's. The husband said they all were. No doubt of it. They have since been sold to the slave-traders. Such occurrences are by no means unusual here. Yet the CHRISTIANS of Baltimore never know anything about them, when you ask; in truth, it would be incredible news to nine-tenths of the better sort of people of this city, that from two to four thousand slaves are every year sold, in their midst, including at least five hundred members of the body of Christ, humble, prayerful, ignorant, but sincere Christians. Such topics they do not inquire into. "The righteous perisheth and no man" of them "layeth it to heart." Why? The victims are poor, black, or "yellow," and AMERICAN SLAVES; victims of the great American Slave-Trade. But it is perfect folly to rebuke the *Slave-Trade.* The trader is the mere agent of the slaveholder. The GREAT CRIME is *to hold a man in Slavery.*

Items of a different class:—It is very common here for the police and other slave-hunting knaves, to play tricks on slaveholders. I will give you a few samples. One police firm has in pay, over twenty colored spies here, beside others in Philadelphia and elsewhere. Their business is to inveigle slaves to run away, hide them up, and betray them. When the master misses his slave, he soon advertises his one hundred dollars reward; often he applies to this very police firm for aid! In a few days they are ready, of course, to hand over the poor victim of their arts, and pocket the reward, besides getting praise as *very vigilant officers!* They once had in their pay an active member of a Northern vigilance Committee, who is well known to me. He is not *now* on the Committee.

Another trick is somewhat similar. Many colored people, for ten miles round, are suffered to come to Baltimore, on the Sabbath, to see their friends and attend church. A constable, desirous of raising the wind, finds one without a *pass*, puts him in jail, or some place of confinement—sometimes one of the slave prisons—says nothing about it till the master offers his reward; and then Mr. Constable coolly pockets the reward of his knavery. Besides, the slave, as a suspected runaway, is commonly sold to the traders at a low price, and the *trader*, out of pure gratitude, (!) give the officer another fee. I defeated one such precious scheme since my imprisonment, by writing to the slaveholder—a humane man—and thus saved a pious slave from being torn from his family for life. I got *two enemies* by it.

Another trick is managed by the connivance of the jail keepers. A runaway is put in jail, and the keepers, for a specified fee, ($5,) give *exclusive notice to a particular trader* of the fact. This gives the trader a chance to negotiate with the master, at a distance, and to get his slave at *half price*, buying him "on the wing." This has often been done this summer. One of the visitors of the jail, to whom I mentioned it, defended it as a *customary perquisite* of the prison officers.

Another "perquisite" of these gentry, is 20 per cent. of the *fees* for all the cases they are able to give a lawyer, with whom a bargain is previously made. Of course, none but a very inferior lawyer would degrade himself by making such a bargain. This summer, a very amusing quarrel took place between *our* keepers and their legal coadjutor, as to the honesty of the latter in paying over the proper share of the fees! They tried to drive a bargain with another—one of my friends—but received no countenance from him. You see the art of "sponging" is not altogether to be classed among "the lost arts" of a primeval world.

These hungry animals are very ready to plunder the slaveholder; they do it often, of course; they will not scruple to do the like with the free colored man, and others of the more defenceless classes.

Pro-Slavery.

From the Journal of Commerce.

RIGHT AND WRONG.

"The abstract right of all men to be free, does not give to individuals the right to make them so, when legally enslaved, and whoever attempts it must be ready to suffer the penalties annexed to slave-stealing in the State where the offence is committed."

This seems to concede that all men *have* the *right* to be free. These negroes of Mr. Heathcote were deprived of this right. Mr. Torrey helps them to come in possession of these rights. It was no doubt unwise for him to do it—but was it wrong? It was illegal certainly. But do justice and human law always coincide? The Inquisition was legal,—but would you have hesitated to run some risk to help a poor fellow-Christian to escape their prison?

The laws of the State of New-York make it a penal offence to take over 7 per cent interest; but is it morally wrong to do it? JUSTICE.

The *abstract* right of *all* men to be free," was our language. If this includes slaves, so it includes minor children. Yet minor children are subject to their parents, both by the laws of God and man. Slaves are subject to their masters by the same laws. We do not say that the Bible justifies Slavery, but it clearly recognizes its existence, and prescribes the duties growing out of that relation. If, then, a stranger should run off with "Justice's" child, say a daughter, with her own consent; this, according to the above reasoning, would be "helping her to come in possession of her rights," and so could not be wrong. But, perhaps it would be infringing upon some of Justice's rights; in which case, according to the same mode of reasoning, it could not be right.

There is scarcely any right more sacred than that of property. Slaves are property under the laws, and are recognized as such by the Bible in various instances. Now if Justice's principle is correct, that it cannot be wrong to help a man to his [abstract] rights, then surely it cannot be right to *deprive* a man of his rights. To deprive a man of his right of property, is usually denominated *stealing*. This is what Mr. Torrey has done. So did not Paul. When Onesimus, the slave of Philemon, came to him, he had a grand chance to smuggle him off to Candia, or some other place, and had this plausible plea for so doing, that Onesimus was a runaway, and that in helping him to his freedom, he would not be actually robbing his master, but only abetting the robbery after the fact. This would have been much more excusable than to go, as Torrey, and others have done, to slaves still in their master's possession, and entice them away. But what did Paul do? Instead of helping the runaway "to come in possession of his rights," he sent him back to his master, with a kind letter, soliciting his master's forgiveness, and saying, "if he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account." How different from the conduct of our modern Abolitionists! In another place Paul tells Philemon that he had been desirous to retain Onesimus, that he might minister to him (Paul) in his bonds; but he adds,—"without thy mind I would do nothing." This was Paul's justice,—and we leave it to any candid man, (among whom we include our correspondent,) to say whether it was not a better kind of justice than that which consists in stealing and robbing.

We do not expect, by anything we can say, to convince full-blooded Abolitionists. We can only regret their infatuation, and the mischief they are doing. If the minds of most Northern men, with all their abhorrence of Slavery, revolt at such methods of procedure, how must Southern men regard it, and what idea must they form of the moral rectitude of the Abolitionists! In reading the other day an abstract of the correspondence between a Committee of Abolitionists at the North, and sundry ecclesiastical bodies at the South and West, whom they addressed on the subject of Slavery, we were struck with the fact, that the only respectful reply which they received from a slaveholding State, (East Tennessee,) and which expressed any sympathy with their objects and measures, entreated them, as they loved the cause in which they were engaged, to avoid, above all things, the act of which we are complaining. They were manifestly sincere in their warning, and gave it from a knowledge of the temper of slaveholders, and the effects likely to be produced upon them by a course of proceeding which they regard as the meanest, vilest, most contemptible kind of theft and robbery.

If, however, Abolitionists will heed no warning, either from the North or the South, the only way is to let them run, until they "bring up," after the manner of Torrey and Walker. One thing they must understand, viz: that it will be much more difficult hereafter to manage their under-ground rail-road successfully than it was heretofore, on account of the increasing vigilance exercised by slaveholders. If any more of them get caught, as they doubtless will, we trust they will raise no cry for sympathy, but submit to the penalty with the spirit of men conscious of having endeavored to discharge their duty.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

The friends of Anti-Slavery are holding a meeting in this city at the Mechanic's Hall.

The words, "No Union with Slaveholders," is very handsomely wrought in evergreen, and placed at the head of the Hall. The speakers are numerous, and, if we have been rightly informed, are in some individual instances opposed to *any union* with *anything or anybody.* We do not say this is the general feeling, we believe it to be far otherwise. The Methodist Episcopalians have received a share of the obloquy of one of the speakers, and been denounced as the "most lying, hypocritical set of rascals this side of perdition." The Friends have not been forgotten by these *kind philanthropists*, but have been accused of caring for naught but the form and color of their coats, regardless of the sufferings of their fellow-men. They were severely, and grossly abused, for their support of Henry Clay. This language, we believe, was used by only one of the speakers, and of course the whole party are not responsible for it. The discussion last evening was on the propriety of dissolving all connection with the State and Federal organizations, and becoming in fact what many of them are in name, "Come-outers." Mr. Peterson replied with great spirit last evening, to Douglass for his abuse of the colored voters of this State, for supporting "Law and Order, and Henry Clay." He offered some resolutions which were strongly condemnatory of Douglass' course which were laid on the table until to-day.

Providence Paper.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The committee of the Whig colored population, assembled last evening to act upon the insulting remarks of Mr. Douglass towards the voters of this State who voted for Henry Clay; and we do publicly say that we discountenance the means adopted by the Abolitionists of the convention being holden in this city, to erase the evil of Southern Slavery from our land—to speak in slanderous terms of our most influential men, men who have labored arduously to advance the true interests of this nation, and for the promotion of the happiness of its citizens, will have a direct tendency to rivet still stronger the chain of tyranny and oppression. We would not wish the world to think we, as freemen, participate in such outbreaks, but that, as men, we are true Whigs, friends to social order, true to our fellow-man, to our God, and to our country. Therefore,

Resolved, That we, as citizens of Rhode Island, legally organized, protest against the abusive and vehement manner in which Mr. Douglass attacked the voters of this city for canvassing their votes in favor of Henry Clay.

Resolved, That we deem such violent attacks of individual character has a direful influence upon the cause or abolition, and a direct tendency to retard the progress of our action in behalf of those in slavish bondage at the South.

Resolved, That the degrading stigma put upon the colored population of this State calls forth feeling of bitter indignation, and that we should treat the remarks with that contempt that the author justly deserves.

Resolved, That we, as freemen, know our rights, and knowing dare maintain them, and are ever ready to repel any insult which may be cast upon us.

Resolved, That we, as men, trust we are governed by as holy and upright principles as any of the advocates of the liberty party, and that we will ask the sympathy of them when needed.

Resolved, That we, as Abolitionists, do not wish to have advocates to sustain our cause, if we cannot have them by other means than by appealing to the political feelings of man.

Resolved, That we consider the cause of sufficient interest to call men into action and nerve them up for the glorious contest of human freedom. If it be not, let it sink. We want no life preservers to buoy us up; justice will stand, truth will triumph, "mid the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds."

Resolved, That we consider "wisdom without justice" craftiness.

THOMAS HOWLAND,
RICHARD NICHOLS, } Com.
ABRAHAM M. PETERSON,

—*Providence Journal.*

Selections.

From the Friend.

"MODERN ABOLITIONISTS," versus THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Whoever reads a number of a "Modern Abolition" paper, will be very likely to meet with an attack on the Society of Friends, in some form or other. These attacks are so numerous, and many of them of so little weight and importance, that much time would be wasted, to little moment, should they all be noticed. Most of them derive all their point either from wilful misrepresentation, or ignorant misunderstanding. We have been somewhat amused with a recent furious attack of an Englishman, signing himself "E. S. Abdy." Among other causes of umbrage against Friends in America, he brings forward a case of a meeting refusing to receive a black man into membership. This occurred in the days of John Woolman, who has been dead more than seventy years. It seems somewhat contrary to the accustomed form of attack, to throw the misdeeds of our fathers in our teeth, whom our Anti-Slavery brethren commonly represent as going far before their children in effective zeal for the rights of the blacks.

It appears, that in the English edition of Thomas Shillitoe's Journal, he narrates that the meeting of Friends at Mount Holly is small, and that he was there informed that John Woolman had foretold it would be so. The reason alleged was, that that meeting had refused to receive into membership a man of African descent, merely because of his color. That it was when a minute was being made, objecting on this ground, that John Woolman declared the meeting would dwindle. Now it has given great offence to some self-styled Abolitionists, that, in the reprint of Thomas Shillitoe's Journal in America, the few lines relating to "this unfeeling and unmanly conduct," have been omitted.

In reply, it may be said, that there is some doubt as to the truth of the circumstance, as narrated to Thomas Shillitoe. Doubts, which, in our apprehension, fully justify the omission of the part referred to. After having examined into the matter as far as at this distant day we are able to do it, the conduct of the Monthly Meeting of Mount Holly appears to have been correct. We will narrate the case.

William Boen, a colored man, in the habit of attending the meetings of the Society of Friends, applied to be received into membership by them. A Committee was appointed to visit him, as would have been had a white man made a similar request. If the statement of the Monthly Meeting is to be depended on in the matter, "way did not open to receive him, but he was desired to continue faithful." William Boen does not appear to have been stirred with any indignation at the decision of the meeting. He probably cheerfully acquiesed in their judgment, and continuing to wait upon his Divine Master for knowledge, he grew in the Truth. In due time, long after the death of his friend John Woolman, he believed it right again to apply to be received amongst the Friends. Mount Holly Monthly Meeting was now satisfied that he was indeed and in truth a Quaker, fully convinced of the doctrines which distinguish our Society, and they cheerfully acknowledged him a member. To the close of his very long life, (he lived to his ninetieth year,) he bore a good character amongst his neighbors and in the church. At his death, which did not occur until 1824, this same Mount Holly Monthly Meeting showed its disregard of color, by issuing "a memorial" concerning him. Such a thing is rarely done in the case of any but ministers of the Gospel, or those who have been of eminent service in the church. John Woolman may have spoken of the decline of that Monthly Meeting, but it could hardly have been in connection with this colored man, towards whom the meeting appears to have exercised a sound discretion, and willing-hearted justice.

In the Anti-Slavery Standard of the 5th instant, in an editorial "On the moral influence of nations," it is stated, that "The Friend, the orthodox organ at Philadelphia, has long since espoused the Colonization Society." To show the falsity of this statement, we might refer any impartial reader to the columns of "The Friend." We have no hesitation, however, in saying, that neither the editor, nor the active contributors to this paper, are joined with, or approve of the Colonization scheme. Members of our Society may think on the subject as they please, but the large body of Friends do now, and always have believed, that the true remedy for Slavery is not to be found in the removal of the free blacks from this land. Slavery must cease; what the effective agent in promoting its final overthrow in the hands of the Most High will be, we know not, but the cause we commit to Him, earnestly and trustfully looking to see the day-star of the glorious morning of universal liberty and light.

Extract from an Appeal to the People of Massachusetts, on the Texas Question.

(COMMUNICATED.)

The following extract is well toned and well timed. We are glad for what it does say, and regret it did not go one step further. The Convention proposed should have for its object the Dissolution of this pretended Union.

We suspect, from its well-directed aim, that the arrow comes from a quiver whose shafts have already done good service in another department of labor for the good of the colored race. We will use our Yankee privilege of *guessing*, (it is but a guess,) that the author is the Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, to whom Salem owes it that she is no longer disgraced by distinction of color in her public schools. It is a good word in right season. Heaven grant that the author's anticipations of a ready echo to his spirit in the feelings of the old Commonwealth, may prove well founded. But we doubt. No matter. Thanks for every true word. For as Kinmont says, "What one speaks, a second feels, and a third does."

If anything were wanting to convince the people of Massachusetts that their relation to the Slaveholding States cannot and should not remain what it is now, and that they should begin to inquire what they owe to their character and their rights when both have ceased to be respected, it would seem that the recent proceedings of the people of Charleston and the Government of South Carolina in reference to SAMUEL HOAR, might serve to dispel the last illusion, and to fix attention—not without a practical result—upon the legitimate effects of the slaveholding system. SAMUEL HOAR, a citizen of Massachusetts, as much respected as any amongst us for his virtues, his talents, and his services,—a personification of the highest intellectual and moral traits of the New England character,—proceeds to South Carolina, under the authority of the Constitution of the United States, to discharge the duties of a legal agent of Massachusetts. The object of his agency is to afford legal advice and assistance to free citizens of Massachusetts, liable to be deprived of their liberty, without the imputation of any crime, through the enforcement of a law of South Carolina, which her own eminent jurist, in the capacity of a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, has years since declared to be utterly unconstitutional. Upon his arrival in Charleston, in a respectful manner he announces his official appointment to the Governor of the State. Before, however, he can enter upon the duties of his office, and while he is demeaning himself unoffensively as a private gentleman, this venerable man, with his gray hairs and his immaculate character, is marked as the victim of popular fury. In the face of day, he is rudely ejected from his lodgings, and, amidst the menaces of a mob,—with his daughter, too, as the sharer of his danger,—in the public view of the citizens of Charleston,—thus made the abettors, because the passive witnesses, of the outrage,—he is compelled to seek safety in flight.

To make the State in its highest capacity responsible for the atrocity perpetrated by its citizens, the legislature at the same time see fit, by a series of Resolutions, summarily to denounce the object and official character of the agent of Massachusetts, and to authorize the Governor to exercise the power of the State in expelling him from its territory. It is to be regretted that the official ceremony of expulsion could not have been enacted, and that this characteristic proceeding of the legislature should have been superseded by the more prompt, though not less dignified, action of the mob. For the present, let it suffice to say that the deed has been done, and that it cannot and shall not be forgotten. It shall be remembered as despoiling the escutcheon of the Palmetto State of the insignia of its former civic and social renown. For the future let no son of Massachusetts incur the risk of presuming upon the hospitality of South Carolina, but leave her in her infamy to become the neglected abode of a degenerate race.

Let SAMUEL HOAR return to Massachusetts: but let him come back to witness the spirit with which his wrongs will be redressed, and to be cheered by the sympathy which will be manifested in his behalf. Let him come back to raise his voice where he will be heard with respect, in invoking his fellow-citizens to do justice alike to him and to themselves, and to place themselves in an attitude of uncompromising opposition to all the unconstitutional proceedings and designs of South Carolina. Let SAMUEL HOAR thus present himself, and be thus received in the proposed Convention of Massachusetts.

In conclusion, let the whole subject be viewed for a moment on the dark side, and let us anticipate the crisis in its most discouraging aspect. Let us take it for granted that what has been recommended is to any important extent impracticable,—that there is no deeply-rooted and wide-spread earnestness of thought and feeling among the people of the Free States,—that they feel no concern on account of the extension of Slavery in itself considered, and that they have ceased to calculate its consequences,—that, while the many have thus become indifferent, the few who had not been so are inert through despondency,—that the result of the election, supposed to carry with it Annexation as a matter of course, has caused them to feel that all is over, that a protracted struggle must be fruitless, and that the country should be left to its fate. Let us suppose, when there is so much that seems like it, that all parties hug their prejudices and animosities too closely to be prepared to reconcile or suspend their differences for the common good; that Whigs loathe an alliance with Abolitionists,—that Abolitionists care for nothing so much as to defeat Whigs,—and that Democrats, as a party in power, cannot forego the spoils of victory. Let us submit to the conclusion, that in many of the Free States, if circumstances continue as they are, nothing will be attempted, and that in most of them, as yet, nothing can be done. As some would persuade us, too, let us do the penance to suspect that even Massachusetts falters,—that her leaders hesitate,—that they are still counting the cost of the responsibility she has already assumed,—and that they ponder the policy of retiring behind the larger States, and of waiting for an example. With so many discouragements all around, and so many obstacles before us, let us still venture to ask, and to answer the question,—WHAT IS OUR DUTY? Is it to cease from effort, because there is such necessity and so much scope for exertion? Is it to postpone an attempt which can only become the more hopeless the longer it is delayed? Is it to shut our eyes to the true state of the case, lest the stern rebuke of principle should silence the suggestions of expediency, and a full view of our danger should make us feel that there is no alternative but a death-struggle? Is it to wait for others when we are ready to act? Is it, in the worst view, to submit at once to what through our irresolution appears inevitable,—with doe-faced servility, again to compromise for our disgrace, and to abandon forever our time-honored station in the vanguard of freedom?

No! No!—Massachusetts must be Massachusetts still. Founded on the Rock of Plymouth, the strength of her character is moral and religious principle. Baptized in the fire and blood of the Revolution, her patriotism will abide every test, and prove itself ready for any crisis. Rocked in the Cradle of Liberty, her children cannot be unfilial. Reared in Free Schools, her people must understand their duty. With her veteran and keen-scented sentinel upon the floor of Congress to give the first alarm of the certainty and political danger of this Texas plot—with the spirit of her sainted CHANNING flashing, with a ray of heavenly illumination, upon every darkened conscience the scorching conviction of its inhuman and unchristian tendencies,—with her trusted Defender of the Constitution about once more to take his post in her behalf upon what seems its only remaining bulwark,—Massachusetts must be—*is she not?*—forewarned, forearmed, and ready for the contest. She cannot falter,—let her proceed. Amidst difficulties and dangers by which it may be recognized, the path of duty lies plain before her. Let her heart be moved,—all fears will vanish, and every unclean spirit will be cast out. Let her voice be heard,—the country and the world will respond to it. Let her act,—History will record the event.

To sum up all in one word,—*the crisis is at hand.* MASSACHUSETTS IS READY. It only remains for FANEUIL HALL, to give the watchword, A CONVENTION—TO THE RESCUE!

A MASSACHUSETTS FREEMAN.

From the New-York Tribune.

LATE FROM MEXICO.

The bark Eugenia, Captain Biscoe, arrived yesterday morning from Vera Cruz, whence she sailed on the 12th ultimo. Mr. CUSHING, late Commissioner to China, was a passenger.

Captain Biscoe reports that most of the principal towns throughout the republic, and a very large proportion of the people, have joined the insurrection against Santa Anna, which has become a successful and bloodless revolution, no serious resistance being made in any quarter. Santa Anna was at Queretaro with a small force of faithful adherents, but most of the troops had gone over to the party of Paredes.

Santa Anna's prospect of sustaining his power was considered very doubtful, and it was even thought he would fly from the country, the people being exasperated against him, and looking upon his existence as dangerous to the liberty of Mexico.

The condition of the markets was very unpromising. The British frigates, Spartan and Inconstant, and two French brigs of war, were lying at Sacrificios.

Mr. Cushing has kindly furnished the following notes on the condition of Mexico, which he prepared while on his passage from Vera Cruz:

The revolution in Mexico was rapidly approaching a decisive crisis.

The great object of the revolution is to decide whether Santa Anna shall be precipitated from power, or whether, on the other hand, he shall be the permanent dictator and arbitrary master of the Government.

In order to understand well the actual state of things, it is necessary to give a brief explanation of the previous state of things.

At the head of the Government in 1841, was General Anastasio Bustamente, under the Constitution which then regulated the Mexican Republic. In August, 1841, General Paredes and the Department of Jalisco *pronounced* against the Government of Bustamente.

A civil war of brief duration ensued, which was terminated on the 28th of September, 1841, by an arrangement, in virtue of which the pre-existing Constitution was abolished, and General Santa Anna was invested with the powers of dictator, for the purpose of re-organizing the Constitution and the Government.

Under the auspices of Santa Anna, a Congress assembled in June, 1842, and proceeded to deliberate on a new Constitution. Santa Anna himself retired to Manga de Clavo, leaving General Bravo as President *ad interim;* and the proceedings of Congress not being agreeable to Santa Anna, it was dissolved by General Bravo, in December, 1842, and a National Junta or Assembly of Notables, was convened in its place.

On the 12th of June, 1843, a new Constitution was completed and made public, by which, (among other things,) the supreme power was lodged in the hands of a President, to be elected for five years; of an elective body called the Council of Government, and of a Congress composed of a Senate and Chamber of Deputies; and Santa Anna himself was immediately elected President under the Constitution.

During this period the Republic had been distracted, not only by the civil war which displaced Bustamente, and elevated Santa Anna to power, but also by the insurrection of Yucatan, and the long civil war which ensued in that quarter,—by an extensive rising of the Indians in the extreme South—by incursions of the Indians in the North—by controversies with foreign powers—by the question of Texas—and above all, by incompetency and corruption in all members of the Government.

By the 6th of the Basis of Tucubaya, it was provided that, "The Provisional Executive shall answer for his acts before the first Constitutional Congress;" and this was confirmed by the agreement of La Estanzuela.

Nevertheless, by a decree of Santa Anna, issued on the 3d of October, 1843, (before assuming the office of Constitutional President,) it was declared that, as the power exercised by him under the Basis of Tucubaya was, by its very tenor, without limitation, the responsibility referred to in the 5th of the said basis, was merely "*a responsibility of opinion;* that all the acts of his dictatorship were of the same permanent force, as if performed by a Constitutional Government, and must be observed as such by the Constitutional Congress.

The new Government was completed, and installed in January, 1844, when the first Congress under the new Constitution assembled. Its early acts seem to have been in accordance with the views of Santa Anna, for it voted an extraordinary contribution of four millions with which to prosecute the war against Texas.

But, on his requiring authority for a loan of ten millions, the Congress hesitated to give its assent; though it was notorious that but a small portion of the extraordinary contribution had been realized, and that the Treasury, so far from being competent to supply the means for carrying on a war against Texas, was in fact incompetent for the ordinary daily necessities of the Government.

Meanwhile, as affairs proceeded, a heavy opposition to Santa Anna began to manifest itself in Congress and throughout the Republic.

Then, on his expressing a wish to retire a short time to Manga de Clavo for the care of his private affairs, (as he had done in 1842,) in which case the new Constitution required that the Senate should make choice of a President *ad interim*, to officiate during his absence from the seat of Government, the ministerial candidate, General Valentin Canalizo, prevailed by one vote over his opponent, General Rincon.

Such, then, was the position of things in October, 1844; Santa Anna being *President propriatario;* Canalizo *President interino*, and the Congress assembled in special session, occupied with the foreign relations and the financial embarrassments of the Republic, when the revolution broke out in the large and powerful Department of Jalisco.

On the 1st of November, 1844, the Departmental Assembly of Jalisco adopted and published what is called an *Initative*, being an act provided for by the Constitution, in virtue of which the Assembly submitted the proposition following:

The National Congress will make effective the responsibility of the Provincial Government, to which it was subjected by the 6th of the basis of Tucubaya, which it swore to and caused to be sworn to by the nation.

2. The law of August 21st, 1844, imposing extraordinary contributions, is repealed.

3. The Congress will occupy itself by preference in reforming the articles of the Constitution, which experience has demonstrated to be contrary to the prosperity of the Departments.

This act was adopted by all the authorities of the Department, civil and military, and made known by public documents issued under the signatures of the civil Governor, Escovado, and of the commandant-general Galindo, with his principal officers; and thus far it was in Mexico a constitutional, and not a revolutionary act—for in Mexico the military participate equally with the civil authorities in all political proceedings.

But though nominally a Constitutional act, it was in reality a revolutionary one, skilfully arranged and combined for the overthrow of Santa Anna.

To this intent General Mariano Paredes, who had commenced the revolution of 1841, in the same Department of Jalisco, and who had since that time acted with Santa Anna, was pitched upon to be the agent of his overthrow.

The secret movers of the new revolution obtained for General Paredes the command of the Department of Sonora, to which it is necessary to march through that of Jalisco.

On the way to his Government, Paredes stopped at Guadalajara, the capital of Jalisco, with the troops under his command, and there pronounced openly and directly against Santa Anna, and assumed the functions of Military Chief of the Revolution.

The four Departments of Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, Sinalva and Sonora concurred at once in the *pronunciomento* of Jalisco; and thus the five North-Western Departments were in arms at once against Santa Anna. Between these and Mexico there intervene the two Departments of Guanajuato and Queretaro.

Paredes advanced to Lagos, on the frontier of Jalisco, and there established his head-quarters, with an army of 1400 men, to await the progress of events. In the contiguous department of Guanajuato was General Cortazar with 2000 men, on whom Paredes depended for support; but the rapid movements of Santa Anna himself prevented Cortazar from joining Paredes (if he had the intention) and compelled him, for the present at least, to declare for Santa Anna.

For, instantly on hearing what had taken place in Guadalajara, Santa Anna, who was then at Manga da Clavo, in the Department of Vera Cruz, and in whose neighborhood was a large body of troops, *professedly* collected for an expedition against Texas, set out for Mexico, being invested by the *President ad interim* with the conduct of the war against Paredes. He set out for Jalapa on the 7th of November, at the head of 8,500 men, crossed rapidly the Department of Puebla, where he received some additional troops, and on the 18th arrived at Guadalupe, a town near Mexico, where he fixed his head-quarters.

He had left the departments of Vera Cruz and Puebla full of professions of loyalty to his Government; and he found the same professions in that of Mexico; similar professions came to him there from Queretaro and Guanajuato, and he prepared to march from Guadalupe, and to assemble at Queretaro a force of 13,000, with which to overwhelm the little army of Paredes.

But, even at this moment, all-powerful as he appeared, at the head of a great army, and with all the departments behind him loyal, symptoms began to appear of the uncertainty of his cause; for though the Congress did not professedly support Paredes, yet it insisted that Santa Anna should proceed constitutionally, which the latter was unable or indisposed to do.

The Mexican Constitution provides expressly that the President cannot command in person the military force, either by land or sea, without the previous permission of Congress. Santa Anna had taken the command without even pretending to ask the consent of Congress; and in so doing had himself performed a revolutionary act quite as positive and serious as that of Paredes.

Nevertheless, on the 22d he proceeded on his march to Queretaro; and on the same day the Chamber of Deputies voted the impeachment of the Minister of War, General Reyes, for signing the order under which Santa Anna held the command of the troops. Congress also voted to receive and print the *pronunciamentos* of the revolutionized department; in all this, indicating a disposition, not to be mistaken, of hostility to Santa Anna.

On arriving at Queretaro, Santa Anna found that, although the military authorities were professedly in his favor, yet the *junto departmental* had pronounced for the *initiative* of Jalisco. Therefore, he made known to the members that if they did not *re-pronounce* in his favor, he would send them prisoners to Perote.

They refused, and three of them were immediately arrested by his order, and sent off under a strong guard in the direction of Mexico and Perote. When the report of these proceedings reached Mexico, the Congress immediately summoned before it the Ministers of War and of Government, to know whether they had authorized General Santa Anna to imprison the members of the junta department of Queretaro.

This subject occupied the Chambers on the 29th and 30th of November; and their attitude had now become so menacing, that the *President ad interim, Canalizo* (after consultation with Santa Anna,) took the high-handed step of deciding to close the session of Congress by force, and declare Santa Anna Dictator of the Republic.

Accordingly, on preparing to the palace on the 1st of December, the members found the doors shut against them, and guarded by soldiers; and on the 2d appeared the proclamation of Canalizo, as *Presidento interino*, declaring the Chamber dissolved indefinitely, and conferring all the power of Government, legislative and executive, on Santa Anna, as *President Proprietorio*, the same to be exercised by Canalizo, as *President interino;* until otherwise ordered by Santa Anna.

For some days this forcible demolition of the Constitutional Government by the creatures of Santa Anna, remained without producing any apparent effect in Mexico. But on the very day when the news reached Puebla, General Inclan, Commandante-General of that department, in concert with the civil authority, pronounced against Santa Anna; and in a few days, (on the 6th,) the garrison and the people of Mexico rose against the Government, imprisoned Canalizo and his Ministers—Congress re-assembled the President of the Council of Government, General Herrera, assumed the exercise of the functions of President according to the Constitution, and new ministers were appointed next day, whose authority was immediately acknowledged at Vera Cruz.

At the latest accounts there from Vera Cruz, (Dec. 12th,) affairs stood thus:

The departments of Sonora, Sinaloes, Jalisco, Zacatecas and Aguascalienta were in a state of revolution, and in military possession of General Paredes.

General Santa Anna (with Cortazar) had military possession of the departments of Guanajuato and Queretaro.

Santa Anna's President *interino*, Canalizo, and his ministers, were imprisoned in Mexico. Congress had re-assembled, and a temporary Constitutional Government was installed there, composed as follows:

viz: General Jose Joaquim de Herrera, President of the Council of Government, charged temporarily with the supreme executive authority.

D. Luis Gonzaga Cuevas, Minister of Foreign Relations, State and Police.

D. Pedro J. Echeverria, Minister of Finance.

D. Pedro Garcia Conde, Minister of War.

And it was already known that the Departments of Puebla, and of Vera Cruz had declared their adhesion to the Provisional Government; and there is no doubt that most of the other Departments will also support the Congress.

Meanwhile, Santa Anna is Constitutional President of the Republic, but unconstitutionally in command of the troops employed against Paredes. The new Minister of War has ordered him to give up his command.

If he refuses he becomes undoubtedly a rebel and a traitor; because the new Provisional Government in Mexico is *constitutionally* constituted. If he consents, he ceases to have any troops for his support; he is placed at the mercy of his enemies.

His position is now an extremely critical one, therefore. Everything depends on whether his troops adhere to him against the Congress and the Constitutional Government. If they do, he becomes the Military Dictator of the country.

Reports were current at Vera Cruz that a part of his troops had already proclaimed him Dictator, and that another part had declared against him; but upon this point, no information in authentic form had reached the public ear.

He may recover himself by some new turn in the wheel of fortune, and resume his place as the Constitutional President *proprietario* of that Republic.

It seems more likely that he will have to yield to the storm; and if not deprived of his life, he may escape to the United States by a sudden march on Tampico, or to South America by way of the Pacific."

Nevertheless, from the Mexican papers which we have received, the aspect of affairs does not lead us to think the situation of Santa Anna as bad as is usually considered. According even to Mr. Cushing's opinion, he was at the head of a large body of troops, had possession of the Treasury, and was sustained by almost all the men of influence in the nation. General Ulloa had pronounced in favor of his dictatorship at Jalapa; and at Zacatecas, where an adhesion had first been given in to Herrera, by accounts on the 4th, the persons who composed the Junta, on the next day retracted and pronounced in his favor. The immediate consequence of the news of the occurrences at Mexico may be to strengthen the party of Paredes, for the moment, and induce him to venture into the field. If so it is not doubtful what will be the result, as the well-drilled soldiers of Santa Anna must triumph over him without difficulty.

The whole of Western Mexico is decidedly in his favor, as far as the pronunciamentos of *juntas* there mean anything. In that portion of the country, too, the priests are most influential, and can do anything with the dense population. The matter now seems to rest in the hands of chance, and Santa Anna may be either a refugee or all-powerful.

The papers which have come to us are, without exception, in the pay of the old Government, and therefore we can hear but imperfect versions of the true condition of the other party.

The following is Canalizo's proclamation, declaring Santa Anna Dictator of the Republic:

The President *ad interim* of the Republic has issued the following Proclamation:

The President of the Mexican Republic to its citizens:

Having deliberated in various Cabinet Councils upon the perilous situation of the Republic, to discover if possible the best means of contributing to the preservation of the nation at a time when it is wearied out by a foreign war, whose results have been of the most important character—and when it is moreover assailed by a dangerous rebellion which renders the position of affairs yet more critical; considering

1st. That the inflexibility of the law cannot possibly provide for every contingency which may render it powerless, and its effects are of the most dangerous character, which appears to be the case at present with the affairs of this nation.

2d. When in addition to such difficulties, which place in opposition to each other the Executive and the organic laws of the Republic, a most important difficulty exists in consequence of which the legal depositories of legislative power, far from providing for the removal of these obstacles, increase them by their positive denial of all the necessary demands of the Government, and the hostile position also in which they have placed themselves.

3d. When for this great evil no remedy can be discovered in the organic bases of the Republic, necessity compels us to adopt a course sanctioned by the laws of the most powerful and cultivated people of Europe, as well as by the most illustrious of ancient times. I have resolved, in accordance with the unanimous sentiments of my cabinet, to make the following decrees.

1st. Until the restoration of public order in many of the departments, in which it has been disturbed, until the Government shall be in a condition to make the campaign against Texas effective, and also to sustain every contingency of the war, the sessions of the Congress shall be suspended, that there may be no difficulty created by the exercise of the power they possess according to the organic principles of the Constitution.

2d. The Emeritus of the nation, Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, General of Division, shall be obeyed as Constitutional President of the nation, according to the Constitution of the Republic; and during any time he may be absent from the Capital, the person who may be the actual possessor of the Governorship shall be, for the time, esteemed the absolute depository of supreme power.

3d. During the suspension (*recesso*, Sp.) of Congress, the Government shall be authorized, 1st. To adopt any measures it may think requisite for the re-establishment of order in the departments in which it has been disturbed, to establish a uniform peace throughout the Republic, to make an effective campaign against Texas, and to maintain, at all hazards, the integrity of the Republic, and to avoid the necessity of alienating the property or of disposing of the sovereignty of the nation. 2d. To adopt the best means for the preservation of the revenue, of maintaining the efficiency of the army; but it shall not be competent to increase the rate of contributions, or to exact all levies of men from the proletary (*proletable*) class of inhabitants, and 3d. To decide upon all foreign as well as domestic affairs, and finally, to answer all demand in cases of urgent necessity.

I therefore decree the above, and hereby publish and require obedience to it.

V. CANALIZO.

MANUEL C. REJON, Minister of State and Pol.'s and Foreign Affairs.

MANUEL BARONDA, Minister of Justice and of Education.

A DE HORO Y ZAMARIE, Minister of Revenue.

IGNACIO DE BASADRE, Minister of War and of the Navy.

We translate the following account from the Courier Francaise of December 7th:

REVOLUTION IN MEXICO.—A movement, magnificent in its principles, its unanimity, its means and results, took place yesterday in this capital; within three hours all was concluded. A new Administration was installed. Congress returned to the halls from which it had been driven, and the Government of General Canalizo, detested by all parties, and having met with nothing to inspire it with courage, not a single shot having been fired in its defence, entirely disappeared.

We must very succinctly relate the circumstances, which preceded and accompanied this revolution, effected without the loss of one drop of blood.

At noon the troops in garrison at the Accordalo, at Saint Francis and the citadel, pronounced against the Generals Santa Anna and Canalizo. At the head of this movement was General Don Jose Herrera, President of the Council of Government who addressed the following proclamation to the inhabitants:

Mexicans.—A blind and audacious Government had destroyed all law, thinking that the existence of society depended on itself alone; but called upon by all classes and the Generals, and the Chiefs of the garrison, I have established constitutional law, and saved Mexico and the other cities of the Republic from anarchy and disorder.

I invite, therefore, all patriots to unite in support of a lawful Government, whose representative I have become. The National Congress, which in a few hours will assemble, will declare the duty of each citizen. In this manner, this great political event will become worthy of the national majesty, as your fellow-citizen heartily desires.

JOSE J. DE HERRERA.

Soon the Congress united with the Generals and the mass of civil and military officers who had pronounced in favor of the revolution, and marched to the palace which they occupied without resistance.

The Congress immediately began its sessions, General Herrera was declared President of the Executive body, and Gomez Pedraza, Minister of War.

The ex-ministers, Basadre, Haro, Rejon, and Baranda have fled.

General Canalizo is said to be in arrest at his house.

The mob broke the statue of Santa Anna in the Theatre, and wished to break the bronze one in the market-place, but were prevented by the authorities. On the next night General Herrera had it privately removed.

The new authorities maintained perfect quiet.

The Chambers are occupied in devising means to remedy the incalculable injury the country has suffered.

West-Indies.

From the London Nonconformist.

THE GUIANA IMMIGRATION SCHEME.

The subject of immigration absorbs at the present moment, the attention of our West India colonies. The planters declare, and apparently with some truth, that they are on the verge of bankruptcy, and that an extensive immigration of laborers alone can save them from impending ruin. Accordingly, in Jamaica, Guiana, Trinidad, and other of our colonial possessions, great efforts are being made to promote the introduction of Hill Coolies from India. The means by which the scheme is to be carried out prove that the spirit of Slavery still remains, in all its virulence, in the West Indies. An extensive system of immigration may or may not be a good thing, but surely those who propose it, and expect to reap exclusive benefit from it, are bound to defray its cost. Not so, however, think the sugar planters. Emulating the landed interest at home, and possessed of almost exclusive political power, they propose that the expense of transporting these Coolie laborers should be borne by the whole community, in the shape of taxes on home consumption. Of course, the greater proportion of these imposts will fall upon the shoulders of the laboring population; and the newly-emancipated negroes will thus be obliged to pay for a reduction of their own wages. If such measures as these are allowed to be carried into effect to prop up the broken fortunes of idle and absentee planters, the liberty of the negro, which cost this country twenty millions to purchase, will become little better than a mockery.

The proposed immigration scheme for Guiana presents several features of peculiar and unparalleled enormity. This will be seen from the following brief statement of facts. Some time since the Court of policy, in a most precipitate manner, passed an ordinance to borrow £500,000 for the introduction of 20,000 Coolie and Chinese laborers, coupling with it an act to renew the civil list, which was in 1810 secured for seven years, for an additional seven years after its expiration in 1848. This last measure was a palpable bribe to silence any opposition to the proposal that might be raised by the various civil and ecclesiastical officials dependent upon the State resources. It of course answered its object. The two ordinances were forwarded to England, to receive the sanction of Lord Stanley; who, however, sent them back for reconsideration, and invited *an expression of public opinion* upon them. How far this latter suggestion was complied with, may be gathered from the fact, that the Court of policy held a special meeting *with closed doors*, just before the sailing of the packet, and, only four hours before the mail was closed, hurriedly confirmed their former decision, and sent it off to the Colonial Secretary, accompanied with the insolent threat, that unless their immigration scheme received the sanction of the Home Government, they would refuse to provide the civil list. Thus, without even the knowledge of the great bulk of the population, the local Government passed an act for saddling them with an enormous debt, amounting to £3 per head, for the special benefit of the land proprietors, and then by a disgraceful manœuvre, endeavored to prevent the expression of any opposition on the part of those most interested. Notwithstanding the success of the planters in disarming the opposition of the civil, ecclesiastical, and magisterial functionaries dependent upon Government, the negro population were not left friendless. The missionaries, as on former emergencies, manfully stood forward to defend the rights of the helpless laborers, and to rescue the colony from ruin. Memorials to Lord Stanley have been prepared and numerously signed; and an expression of public opinion, hostile to the measure, has been elicited, which the Colonial Secretary, favorable as he is to the interests of the planters, will scarcely venture to disregard.

Such are the leading features of this plan, which now awaits only the sanction of the Home Government to be carried into effect. We trust, however, the friends of emancipation in this country, will not allow so gross an injustice to be perpetrated upon the helpless negroes, without entering against it their sternest protest of disapprobation. A decided expression of public opinion here, by means of memorials, and through the influence of the press, may yet avert the blow which threatens to reduce the emancipated negroes of the West Indies to the state of misery and dependence from which they have only recently escaped.

Communications.

Letter from John Jay.

MR. EDITOR: By some accident it has occurred, that I did not see until several weeks after their publication, the reply by Mr. Edmund Quincy in the Standard, to my letter touching the transfer of the Emancipator, or the editorial remarks of the Liberator upon the same subject. Having little fondness for controversy of any kind, and none whatever for this controversy in particular, I should hesitate to add a single word to the unnumbered columns that have already been written upon it, had not Mr. Quincy, by a singular perversion of my language, represented me as holding a position and advancing sentiments, which would be equally disgraceful to me, both as a Christian and a Lawyer. Charges of this kind it is incumbent upon me to meet, and such charges I hope ever to be able to disprove. The allegation of Mr. Quincy is as follows: "At an interview between a Committee of the American Society and the Board of the New-York Society, it was urged that, the Emancipator being the property of the American Society, the Committee had no right to dispose of the paper without the consent of the Society; that the Committee had acted fraudulently in the transfer, and that the City Society had become parties to the fraud, by accepting it; and on these grounds the re-transfer was demanded. Mr. Jay says the ground on which the New-York Society refused to do this, as set forth in a paper drawn up by himself, was, that if the American Board had no right to transfer the paper to the City Board, without the consent of the American Society, then the City Board, being in possession, (whether honestly or fraudulently,) had no right to re-transfer without the consent of the City Society! That is to say, if an agent of mine fraudulently transfers my property to the Directors of a Bank, they have no right to retransfer it, without obtaining the consent of the stockholders! • • I trust for the sake of Mr. Jay's professional reputation, that he does not often urge such an argument as this before the tribunals of New-York."

Now, Sir, I never intimated that if there was fraud in the first transfer to the City Society, as the Committee of the American Board alledged, any right of property or possession passed thereby. But little legal knowledge, and a small modicum of moral sense, is necessary for the understanding of this well-known truth, that fraud vitiates every contract into which it enters, and the words, "*whether honestly or fraudulently*," as used by Mr. Quincy, were not authorized by a single word or syllable in my letter. On the contrary, I stated distinctly, that the managers in the commencement of their reply to the demand for a re-transfer of the Emancipator, "briefly but strongly expressed their convictions, of the integrity of the gentlemen by whom the transfer to them had been made, and that by the transfer to them it had *legally* become the property of the New-York City Society, whom they represented."

Had the applicants for the re-transfer, presented to us not their vague suspicions merely, but satisfactory *proof*, that a fraud had been perpetrated, and had we then argued and acted notwithstanding such proof, as though it mattered not whether our possession was honestly or dishonestly acquired, and had I then used the language and arguments which Mr. Quincy now so unjustifiably imputes to me, that gentleman might with some reason express his hopes or his fears, touching my "professional reputation;" but as the faintest thought of such false argument, and such base conduct, never crossed my mind until so boldly presented in his answer to my letter—it is needless that he should expend on me either his charitable hopes, or his pitying counsel. But Mr. Quincy seems to think that from the beginning of the matter, the City Society acted in bad faith, and that their declaration of honest intentions is a mere pretence. I stated as explicitly as I knew how to do, that "had I believed that the National Committee were acting in bad faith towards the American Society, or that any of the City Society were in league with them to perpetrate a fraud, instead of lending my countenance to their proceedings, I should certainly have endeavored to shield the Society over which I presided from such wicked machinations:"—That our assistance was solicited by the American Board in a preamble and resolutions which I quoted, on the ground that "The financial condition of the Society did not permit the continuance of the Emancipator in the hands of the Committee," &c.—and that thereupon we "calmly discussed the matter in its various bearings, to determine whether duty required us to attempt the charge of the newspaper, and whether our means would enable us to sustain it."

Mr. Quincy, in reply, gives certain statements and figures, of the correctness of which I am ignorant, concerning the amount at the time, standing to the credit of the American Society on their books, to show that they might have continued the Emancipator in their own hands; and he then asks, with all the emphasis of Roman Capitals, large and small—"WAS THIS PRETENCE OF POVERTY A TRUE OR A FALSE PRETENCE? Mr. Jay speaks of the deliberation with which he and his Board acted in this matter, the counsel they took, their discussions of its various bearings, &c. and affirms that they acted as any other honorable men would have acted under similar circumstances! Did these facts, (*which have never been denied,*) enter into their deliberations, and form an element in their decision? Had they not been partakers in the plot of the American Committee, to deprive the Society of its organ, could they not as easily have furnished that Committee with the necessary funds to carry on the paper for the American Society, as to have provided them on their own account?"

Strange as it may seem to Mr. Quincy, these matters did *not* enter into our deliberations. Accustomed for years to regard those who made to us the proposition, as pure and honest men, the Committee in our Society to whom it was referred, did not devote themselves, as he evidently thinks they should have done, to the inquiry, whether the American Board were not endeavoring to perpetrate a fraud, and to make the City Society their convenient tool for the purpose—it did not occur to one of them to ask whether "the pretence of poverty was a *true* or a *false* pretence?"

I freely acknowledge that I had far more faith in men then than I have now. It is an element of the soul that growing years but little help to strengthen; but I should be heartily sorry, even with the additional experience I have since gained, of the instability and turpitude that are often found when they are the least looked for, to feel that deep distrust and suspicion, which Mr. Quincy intimates should then have presided over our youthful councils. Had we deliberated day by day—not upon the question whether we could sustain the Emancipator—but upon the other query now propounded, whether those who asked our aid, were not tempting us to crime; whether their deliberate assurances were not cunning lies; their alledged poverty a false pretence; and their request for assistance a snare to involve us in fraud and robbery;—had we thus deliberated concerning men who stood in the front rank of the Anti-Slavery movement; whom mobs, and persecutions, and revilings had been unable to shake,—whom the world had been forced to respect, and whom we were accustomed to know, and meet with, and consult—had we, I repeat, thus deliberated about such men, without the slightest intimation or proof of fraud,—we should have exhibited by that act, a distrust in all truth and virtue,—a self-born innate baseness, a familiar tendency towards infamy, of which I thank God we were guiltless.

And now, Sir, I dismiss this subject, I trust forever. It was with no intention or expectation of reviving this controversy, that I wrote my first letter; for I have long regretted that those who were laboring in harmony, in the holiest cause that ever united the hearts and hands of Christian men—should have come to blows with each other, when their work was scarcely well begun; before they had induced a single State of this Confederacy to strike the shackles from a single slave, and when no sure glimpse of the final accomplishment of their aims could be discerned, even in the distant future. My letter was written from the single desire, that the plain facts it related, should be placed upon record, and with no expectation that it would call forth again the shout of the war-whoop, and the flourish of the scalping-knife, or that it would induce a single individual in the attempt to demolish its argument, to have recourse—however innocently—to perversion of language and defamation of character.

With regard to the conduct in reference to the Emancipator, of the American Society, or of the City Society, after my connection with it had ceased, as no responsibility for their acts rested upon me, I did not, and do not, think myself obliged to express any opinion:—but I have disproved every charge of turpitude and fraud that has been brought against myself, and if any further charges of a like nature shall be preferred against me with even the shadow of proof to support them, I will shew them to be as wanting in foundation as the baseless fabric of a vision.

Although an interested and probably unsuspected prejudice, may yet for a season prevent my friend in Boston from clearly discerning the truth in this matter, I hope that no further response will be required on my part, for it really seems to me a waste of labor to reply to fictions, that time will soon correct, fictions, which, if left to themselves, must quickly fall as faded flowers from their withered stems—"*Ficta enim omnia*," says Cicero "*celeriter tanquam flosculi decidunt.*"

I am, Sir, with great regard,
Your faithful Servant,
JOHN JAY.

NEW-YORK, Nov. 1844.

Letter from Charles Thompson.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—When the American Society first adopted the "no voting theory," as it is called, I thought that I could discover in the dim distance, a truth which, if separated from the difficulties and errors with which it is enveloped, would have an important bearing in our search for the right, but as yet have not been enabled to advance one single step. The sum of your argument, (that is of those who take ground with the Society,) seems to be this: that Government is an unit; that the Constitution, which is the embodyment of its principles, is pro-slavery; that voting is virtually swearing to support the Constitution, and, consequently, morally wrong. It has also been argued by some, that the oath of Government requires that it should be administered in accordance with the decisions of its Courts; but it evidently binds to the original instrument and nothing more; if so, then this argument falls to the ground. But allowing that the Constitution contains some things morally wrong, the question arises, whether voting, under existing circumstances, or if you please, swearing to support it, necessarily subjects us to the charge of immorality. Some acts are wrong in themselves, and no circumstances can make them right; in others, the right or wrong depend on circumstances. Slavery, we believe, belongs to the former of these, and so does stealing, yet still were I starving, I should not hesitate the taking of food enough to preserve life, or were I a slaveholder, and convinced to-day of immediate emancipation, I might defer it a week, or even a month, if necessary, in my judgment, for the safety of the slave, and then leave it to the metaphysician to decide whether I was guilty of stealing, or of continuing a slaveholder. It is not, however, so much my intention to argue, as to point out the difficulties of the question; hoping that some abler pen will give us more light on the subject. It is the general opinion of the ablest moralists, that next to our obedience to the Most High, are our obligations to the civil Government; that the latter cannot be disobeyed only in obedience to the former; that we are in the condition of minors, subject to their parents, who, though they may not do an immoral act if the parent commands it, yet such a command does not annihilate the parent's authority in those things that are right, yet a continued course of injustice on the part of the parent would justify them in seeking another guardian, but cannot divest them of their minority. Now the resolution of your Society, is nothing less, if carried out, than the annihilation of Government; for if it is my duty to secede, it is the same with every other member, and as we way differ on every other subject, it would only produce anarchy and confusion instead of order.

Since writing the above, the answer of Mr. Phillips, to Earle and others, has come to hand, in which he asserts, "that Government is nothing more than an association of individuals, like a temperance society, or a railroad company, which we may unite with, or not, as duty shall seem to dictate." This may be so, but it requires argument instead of assertion, or but few can believe it, and indeed it is on the decision of this question, that the right or wrong of voting must depend. Our opponents seem to us to have adopted a new system of morals. They make a distinction between political evils and moral wrongs. If, however, by political evils, they mean only those acts which have no moral character, we have no objection to their definition; but every act of a Government, which legitimately carried out, does injustice to any child of Adam, is itself a moral wrong. We believe that the code which make the profession of law a monopoly, and protects it against undue competition, (thus enabling lawyers to obtain as much for a few hours' services as others can for the hardest drudgery in as many weeks,) to be as really an immoral one, and as just a cause for secession as the one before us; but this, however, is not an Anti-Slavery question. There is also another peculiarity in the system of morals which our opponents adopt; they refuse to vote, because it goes to support a wicked Government, and hence give the management of it into pro-slavery hands; but when that Government demands money by way of taxes, or demands that the militia shall be kept in readiness to put down insurrection, why forsooth they make no objection to yielding. If it is wrong for me to return the fugitive, can it be right (if I am under no obligations to obey a wicked Government,) for me to give my money to another to do it; would voting cease to be a wrong, if Government had been so organized as to demand of every man his vote? Will not friend Phillips give us more light on this part of the subject? We have one or two other points to notice in friend Phillips's communication. He says, "When God established the right he saw that it was safest and best, and never laid upon a poor finite worm the staggering load of tracing out into infinity the complex result of his actions." True—but where did our friend learn that the simple act of voting is a moral wrong, if not by tracing out its complex results in first taking the oath, and ending in the return of the fugitive slave. We, too, trace the results of the no-voting theory to the leaving of the Government wholly in pro-slavery hands, and if all should become Abolitionists, to the annihilation of Government. We are commanded to "feed the hungry," "and clothe the naked," but our obligations may be very materially changed by our own necessities, or if we should find the recipient of our favors, making too free use of our donations to increase his potations of blue ruin. If our friend by the above means us to understand, as we think he does, that in adopting a course of moral action or principles, we are not, in our estimate of it, to take into the account, its final results, we think him very unfortunate, and that his arguments are in about the same predicament as that of the Kilkenny cats; for we find him in the very next column, calculating, with mathematical exactness, the result of his opponent's principles, and tracing them on till it leads one to forging bank notes, and murdering his own father, yet before he gets to the end of his argument, we find him engaged in something very near a second somerset in his cavilling at his opponent's logic, because he had attempted to show that his (Phillips's) principles, fairly carried out, would lead to an absurdity.

Mr. Phillips says, in conclusion, "The question really is whether Massachusetts can join hand and strength with South Carolina, for the express and avowed purpose of sustaining Slavery. This she does in the Constitution. For he who swears to support an instrument of twelve clauses, swears to support the whole, and if one be im moral, he swears to do an immoral act. Now, my conviction is, that to return fugitive slaves is a sin, to promise to do and not do it, is, if possible, baser still, and that any conjunction of circumstances, which makes either necessary, is of the Devil, and not of God." Well, we have now arrived at the climax of the difficulty, we can see exactly where we stand. Did our friend ever vote? if he did not, two or three millions of others have voted, and if they have five or ten times repeated the act, they have as many times renewed their oath of obligations to the Government and Constitution, (provided that voting is equivalent to an oath to support it,) and now, because one clause is supposed to involve the return of the fugitive slave, while eleven others go for the protection of the rights and interests of fourteen millions; this oath, so often repeated, is to be but a rope of sand, and the Government, Constitution, and all, according to our friend's principles, must be thrown to the four winds. We believe, that wrong as the return of the fugitive could be, in itself considered, (provided the Constitution absolutely requires it, which is much doubted,) the disregarding the oath, the annihilating the Government, or giving it into the hands of the slave power, would be a still greater wrong to the slave. We still think that when moral obligations, either of doing or refraining from doing, seem to come in contact, the higher must bear the sway, while the lesser ceases to be binding; that if life is at stake, from starvation, the taking a little food ceases to be a moral wrong, in consequence of the higher obligation to preserve life. This principle may be acted upon without admitting the right to rob a neighbor's henroost, or turning highway robber. It is believed that this very principle was acted upon when your Society deprecated physical force as a greater evil than the continuance of Slavery. We have thus endeavored candidly to examine this subject and can see no reason as yet to change our views, although open to conviction on this as well as any other subject.

Yours, &c. CHARLES THOMPSON.

POUGHKEEPSIE, Oct. 1844,

Letter from Washington.

12th mo. 29th, 1844.

FRIEND GAY:—On looking over the Washington Globe of last evening, I was struck with an advertisement standing conspicuously in its columns, which for its remarkable character, I will here transcribe and forward for the benefit of the Anti-Slavery cause; but would suggest to the reader to examine it before reading it in a promiscuous company. Here it is:

"$500 REWARD.—Was stolen on Sunday night, the 10th day of November, a female servant named MARY FRANCES. She is about 16 or 17 years old, white, with straight, black hair, and dark eyes, weighing about 110 or 115 pounds; small hands, thick fingers, short, thick feet, good countenance, and carried with her the following clothing: 1 royal purple silk, one calico, deep buff ground; 1 brown merino cloak with silk velvet collar, and other clothing not recollected; also a small Bible with red cover, with her name written in it; also, the name of some of the Bashaw family; and the Virginia selection of Hymns.

She reads the Bible tolerably well, and has pretty good use of her needle. She has had the whooping-cough this fall, and is still disposed to cough at times.

The above reward will be given for the apprehension and conviction of the thief, and delivery of said girl to the subscriber at Thompsonville, Culpeper county, Virginia, if taken in any of the non-slaveholding States. If taken in Virginia, $50; if in Maryland, $75.

A liberal reward will be given to any one who will give the information that may lead to the recovery of the servant and apprehension of the thief.

She calls herself sometimes Mary Frances Lightfoot Roberson.

She was suspected of being in the family way.

GEO. FICKLIN.

Thompsonville, Culpeper Co. Va. Dec. 28."

This girl is, according to the advertisement, *a white girl*. Had she shown any resemblance of the negro feature, complexion or color, or curl of the hair, it would unquestionably have been mentioned. But she is "*white*" with "*dark eyes*," "*straight, black hair*," and a "good countenance." She is not only well formed, young, and handsome, but intelligent and pious. Such a young lady as would grace the best society, is here hunted like a base criminal. Her only crime, we may also very properly infer from the advertisement, was to flee for safety from the jaws of brutal lust and ruin, sanctioned by American laws.

If there is anything calculated to inspire the zeal of the philanthropist, if there is anything which can reach the manly principle in the hearts of our people, and to arouse them to a regard for the protection of virtue and innocence, where is it to be found if not in such instances as the above? This is no isolated case. Among the millions of our enslaved countrymen and women there are thousands of cases occurring yearly which appeal with even more force to the sympathies, the philanthropy, and the Christian benevolence of the people. But what must be the character of that Christianity, which, to say the least, looks on and consents to all these debasing scenes of outrage and cruelty? Almost daily are to be seen in this city, preachers of the Gospel (?) dressed in real dandy attire, displaying the courtesy and etiquette peculiar to *high life*, who enter the pulpit on First-day, and, with deacon visage, and solemn gravity, preach vehemently against "sin," and yet they are open and avowed advocates of that "sum of all villanies," the slaveholding system!

The case of this female, Mary Frances, is not one of more than ordinary aggravation. I am aware it will be looked upon by many as an "extreme case," because the victim was *white*, and it is to cause such to reflect that I send this specimen for publication, but so far from being anything extraordinary, it merely represents slavery as it is in its *mildest form*. The case of Mary Frances comes strictly under the head of that description of slaves of which we hear so much, who are "*Well fed and clothed and amply provided for in sickness*," &c. and if the *jade* had staid with her *kind* master, G. Ficklin, no doubt but she would have been "provided for in her old age."

The *owner* of this girl may well offer a reward of five hundred dollars for her apprehension if found in a free state for so few among us know but what Slavery in this country is "*negro slavery*," that no suspicion would be excited about this beautiful and accomplished lady as being anybody else but some rosy-cheeked farmer's or mechanic's daughter—it would shock them and almost extort from them expressions which would commit them to *Abolitionism*, to tell them she was part of the chattel property of a Virginia planter, or had escaped from the *drove* of a "negro driver!"

Very respectfully, B. B. D.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 9, 1845.

Take Notice.—There is a paper published in this city, called the New-York Standard, and letters and papers intended for us, often get miscarried to that office. Our friends and correspondents will please be sure and direct to us, as the *Anti-Slavery* Standard.

Northern Vassalage and its Remedy.

The Slave Power has once again vindicated its supremacy. The people of the Free States (as they are pleasantly entitled) have again registered the decree of the sovereign power. The two political parties bowed themselves before the master spirit of the land, and offered to its acceptance a candidate for the highest office in the nation, such as they thought would not be unworthy of its favor. But the one was suspected, and with some show of reason, to incline to the interests or to the prejudices of the North. His allegiance to the Supreme Power, though not less firm, was less enthusiastic than his younger rival's. He was not willing to risk all his hopes on the chance of the slave whip thrown into the scale turning the balance. He thought that the North might have some weight in the decision, and that his elevation might be purchased by deserving, in appearance at least, her good will. But his long experience was at fault. Many as were the compromises that he had made between Slavery and Freedom, he had not yet learned that Slavery endures no compromise of which all the concessions are not in her own favor. Though he had volunteered his services as the champion of her darling institutions, and had done more effectual service in upholding them, than any man in the land, still he forfeited all the merit he thought he had thus acquired, by an apparent willingness to consult the wishes of the North, as well as of the South. It is strange that a man who has lived all his life in the midst of the game of politics and President-making, should not have known how to play his cards better. He fairly outwitted himself. Had he been wise, he would have assented to every demand of the South, have accepted its policy in all its details, have welcomed Texas and Oregon and raised the rallying cry of Free Trade. He would then have stood a much better chance of gaining the South with no violent danger of losing the North. If he had given entire satisfaction to the Slave Interest, he might as well have been the next President as his successful rival.

It must be allowed that the Slave Power has ever been consistent with itself, and wise in its generation. And in this has consisted its power. It has always felt its strength, and refused to part with any of it, by weak compromises with its antagonist principle. Its policy has been plain and straightforward. Its diabolical honesty has proved to be its best policy. It has demanded unwavering and unscrupulous devotion to its interests as the price of its favors, and by firmness rather than by dexterity, it has almost always carried its point. This was exemplified it the late contest. Certain measures were held by that Power to be identical with its prosperity, if not with its existence. The two prominent candidates before the people, refused to pledge themselves to carry them through, excepting under certain qualifications and contingencies, which they thought might render them palatable to the North. Their position was by no means incompatible with a speedy and effectual gratification of the wishes of the slaveholders. But the Slave Power disdained such paltering and truckling. They rejected both in contempt and chose a man known only to the country by his stern and uncompromising devotion to the slave system. Slavery sent forth its fiat and its will was obeyed. The servile North bowed its neck and received anew the yoke of the slave master. The oath of allegiance to the Sovereign of the nation was again taken by a majority of the people, and the grim power that lords it over us, again set firmly on its throne. It was a victory gained by firmness and resolution, and achieved by men who knew what they wanted, and were determined to obtain it, who were not distracted by a host of conflicting interests, but faithful to the one with the prosperity of which they had linked all their hopes of wealth and power. Such is the power of a consolidated and determined aristocracy, however feeble in point of numbers, over divided and irresolute masses.

Now whence comes it that this power which is so insignificant an interest as that of Slavery, in point of numbers and in weight of character, obtains and exercises this absolute sway over a great nation? How is it that sixteen millions seven hundred and fifty thousand souls are at the irresponsible disposal of some two hundred and fifty thousand? It is owing to the bargain which our Fathers made a half century since, and which we renew every time that we drop a vote into the ballot-box, whereby we have bartered away our manhood and our rights for the sake of a precarious Union. For the sake of certain selfish advantages which we imagine we derive from a league with the most odious and contemptible tyrants that the world knows, we consent to be their Janissaries and their slave police,—to suppress their servile revolutions and to restore their escaped victims, and ought we to wonder that we find ourselves their political thralls? We secure to them political advantages which of necessity give them the control of the destinies of the country, and shall we complain that they use the power we have ourselves given them? As long as the present Constitution is endured, it is unwise and unmanly for any one acknowledging its legitimate authority to lament over its legitimate results. We have created a small and compact aristocracy, every year diminishing in numbers, but in the same proportion increasing in union and in strength, and have devised a plan of Government which puts the control of the whole machine into their hands, and they have a perfect right, as between themselves and us, to manage it as they please, for the promotion of their own purposes. It has been so from the first moment the machine was set in motion, and so it will be as long as it is tolerated in its present shape. It is useless to complain of the effects of our own folly and wickedness. Wisdom teaches us to trace them to their origin, and remedy the effects by removing the cause.

There is a sort of satisfaction in seeing the enemy caught in their own craftiness; "'tis sport to see the engineer hoist with his own petard." This feeling arises from a sense of the righteousness of the divine laws, and of the inevitable nature of the penalties that follow their violation. And certainly the people of the North have afforded for the last fifty years food enough for the mirth of the cynic, and for the grief of the philanthropist. She was cursed with her prayers.

"Thus nations sink, by darling schemes oppressed,
When vengeance listens to the fool's request!"

She asked for a Union for her own purposes, and consented to purchase it by the sacrifice of a sixth part of her countrymen. And from the very moment of her acceding to the unhallowed compact, she has found herself bound by the very chain she consented to hold. The South is not to blame for it, as between the parties. The North consented to the bond, and she has no right now to find fault with the South because she demands the pound of flesh. Especially is she foreclosed from complaint as long as she still clings to the bargain, and hugs to her soul the imaginary advantages which she dreams are still secured by it. As long as she consents to remain a party to this God-defying contract, she has only herself to blame if she is a servants of servants—the very slave of slaves. There is no deliverance except in her own right arm, and in the thunder-tones of her own indignant voice. If she would be free, she herself must strike the blow. A blow not of the arm of flesh, but with the trenchant blade, wielded by moral omnipotence. They only who have bound themselves with fetters "which, though light as air, are strong as links of iron," can free their souls from the servile chains. They have but to breathe upon them and they vanish into thin air, and are as if they had never been.

Everything denotes that a crisis impends in our national history. It will ere long be decided whether the people will continue to submit to the despotic control of the slave power, or whether they will rise and resist its oppressions. Multitudes of persons took part with the defeated party in the late election, because they fondly imagined that in the candidate of that party they had found a sort of middle term between Slavery and Liberty;—that a bridge might be here thrown over the gulf that separates those eternal antagonists, over which the hosts of Freedom might obtain access to the fastnesses of Slavery. They thought, good easy men, that the election of Henry Clay would be a sort of an Anti-Slavery victory! As if the elevation of a Slaveholder, whose cunning is only surpassed by his insolence, in his maintenance of Slavery, could have resulted in anything but the strengthening and the enlarging of its domination! But these empty hopes are now disappointed. On the Fourth Day of next March, they will see Slavery in her own proper person, incarnated in her own accepted candidate, enthroned in the high places of the land. She will wave her slave-whip with a fresh alacrity over her white as well as her black slaves, after this new and public acknowledgment of her supremacy. It remains to be seen what course the Northern vassals will take. There is but one honest and honorable line of conduct left for them. They may not lay the blame of their servile estate at the door of a Constitution, which they acknowledge as the supreme law of the land. They may not impeach the Sovereign for exercising powers with which they have themselves clothed him. Good faith is to be observed, even to tyrants, as long as we consent to their sway. It is only after we have proclaimed Rebellion to tyrants, that we can justify ourselves by the plea of obedience to God. Plain honor and simple honesty require that we should renounce our allegiance to our Sovereign Lord before we take up arms against his authority.

What, then, is the course which duty to the slave, at once, and an enlightened self-interest, point out as the only one left, for men who love liberty, and respect themselves, to pursue? It is simply to be fair and honorable in their dealings with those whom they themselves have helped to invest with their unlimited power over the bond and over the free. It is to deny the rightful authority of a Constitution of Government which at once overshadows the free with the gloom of irresponsible authority, and darkens the horizon of the slave with the blackness of despair. It is to be honest men, and refuse to partake of the power and patronage which this wicked compact creates, as long as it requires of them to do what their souls abhor as the most abominable wickedness. It is to proclaim their independence of this black and impious agreement, which binds themselves in the same fetters which they basely designed for their own brethren. It is to demand an immediate abrogation of the Slaveholding Constitution of the United States, or the instant Dissolution of the existing Slaveholding Union! It seems as if very self-preservation and personal ambition must before long urge the leading men of the Free States to take this position. There is nothing else left for them, if they thirst for political power, or desire the protection of what they deem to be Northern Interests. It is in vain for them to expect either personal influence, or a continuance of any favorite line of policy, as long as they consent to allow their natural enemies to rule over them. Events seem to forebode a state of things to be at hand when the leaders of Northern politics will have to elect whether they will remain the willing vassals of the slave power, grateful for the crumbs that fall from their master's table; whether they will demand the extinction of Slavery as the condition of the continuance of the existing political arrangements; or whether they will sever the Union of the States at their natural division, that which separates Slavery from Freedom. May their choice be such as becomes the descendants of the Pilgrims, and the sons of the men of the Revolution! May they see that the only reparation which they can make to their enslaved countrymen,—the only security they can obtain for their own rights,—lies in the sincere and practical adoption of the principle, "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"—Q.

"Fiat Justitia, Ruat Cœlum."

I do not quote these words so much for their novelty, as because I want to shelter myself under the philosophy of the old Heathen who wrote them. I stand in wholesome awe of my many Mentors, who see the disposition of the Standard to betray our beloved country into the hands of the blood-thirsty "Britishers;" and endeavor always to profit by the good advice of those who are certain that we have sold our souls to the devil of Locofocoism. But I am constrained just at this time, to bear a

most unequivocal testimony, professing to be governed by the truth of my caption.

I do not believe that the Whig party—as such—cares whether Slavery dies to-day, or a century hence. They have been forced into something of an Anti-Slavery position, but it has been by circumstances, and not by conscience. They are just as ready to maintain now the compromise of the Constitution as our fathers were to make it. They are either wilfully ignorant, or wickedly careless of the fact, which sixty years of experiment has established, that Liberty and Slavery cannot exist together—that the life of the one is the death of the other. Nevertheless, where conscience is dead, we may thank God for circumstances.

Whatever may be the reason—whether from chagrin at their recent defeat; or whether because their opponents have taken an unequivocal position in favor of Annexation—which is only another name for Slavery—and they therefore oppose them, as in duty bound, as politicians; or whether because they hope to make some political capital; or whether it be from all these causes combined,—the fact is indisputable, that the Whig press is the least pro-slavery of that of the two great parties. It is necessary, in the nature of things, that in one or the other of the two parties, the political developments of the growing Anti-Slavery sentiment of the people should be made, and events have decided that this should be at the present crisis, the Whig party.

I do not mean in saying this, to assert that this party is worthy of the confidence or respect of Abolitionists, but that in them we are to find the instrument which just at this moment is to do the little political work which the cause demands, so far as the people are ready to have it done. "Straws show which way the wind blows;" and among others, the straw of Liberty party is a sign. They hate chiefly, and with a hearty good will, the Whig party, because the latter is gradually growing—as some party *must*—to be anti-slavery enough to do all which *they* propose to do in the year 2000 and something, when they shall have attained political supremacy. Perhaps the Whigs will never reach their growth, but just now they are certainly growing. Let us give them the credit as long as they deserve it, if only for their encouragement. We can keep "a rod in pickle" for them to be used so soon as circumstances shall change their position.

The public press is the best index of the feelings and opinions of a party. The recent case of Mr. Hoar has been, and is still, a fruitful theme for newspaper commentary. I have yet to see the first Whig paper which does not maintain that Massachusetts is decidedly in the right, and South Carolina as decidedly in the wrong. Their tone in Massachusetts is unequivocal, indignant, and in some cases even belligerant. Let this go for what it is worth,—which is but little, so long as they abide by the compact. And yet it is hopeful. On the other hand, the Democratic press is just as decided the other way. Its tone is apologetical, condemnatory of Massachusetts, and in defence of South Carolina. So much trouble about a few dozen colored men, is perfectly ridiculous in the eyes of these virtuous men, whose creed is, "the supremacy of man over his accidents." Let this also go for what it is worth,—which the devil can best reckon.

Or take, for example, the two prominent partisan papers in this city, the Tribune and Morning News. There has been more Anti-Slavery matter in the former, since the election, than in half the Liberty papers of the country combined. It is not of the tone generally, which can or ought to suit an Abolitionist. But it is marvellous for a Whig. But the News, though it protests that it hates Slavery, hugs the monster to its bosom with so hearty a good will at the same time, that the only marvel is, that it can persuade itself that anybody is fool enough to believe it.

It is not worth while to multiply instances, or make extracts. It is only worth while to record the fact as a faithful chronicler. Nor should it be, nor is it, mentioned to excite hopes that any political party will, of itself, abolish Slavery. To the power that will do this, the parties are themselves obedient, and all of Anti-Slavery that there is in Whig, Democratic, and Liberty party, comes, not of their own virtue, but from a pressure without, which they cannot resist.—G.

"Bible Politics."

That the slave-master is entitled to no compensation for ceasing to be a tyrant, and for restoring to the slave the rights of which he has always been deprived, is one of the oldest testimonies of the Abolitionists. It is a question which has not, since the earliest days of the cause, been discussed among them, and has even rarely been made, for several years past, a prominent point in lectures to a pro-slavery community. It has been considered as self-evident a truth, that compensation is no more due a slaveholder for ceasing to be a robber of the poor, than a horse-thief is entitled to the price of the horse he has stolen when he returns the animal to its owner.

It is well known, however, to many of our readers, that Thomas Earle, of Philadelphia, holds to different opinions, and is an advocate for compensation. The Executive Committee of the Eastern Pennsylvania Society, conceived it, therefore, not consistent with their duty as the agents of a society which advocates immediate, *unconditional* emancipation, to continue him as their agent. The arrangement, therefore, between them was repealed. On this transaction the Emancipator remarks:

We presume this "arrangement has been repealed" because Thomas Earle would not give in to the no-voting theory of the Garrison abolitionists; but deemed it right and proper for him to vote with the Liberty Party of Pennsylvania, and in his anti-slavery meetings encouraged others to do likewise.

This leader in "Bible Politics" knew when the above paragraph was penned, that it was an unmitigated falsehood. The paper from which the information was obtained contained also the reason for the action of the Executive Committee. Is this the fruit of "a regular education at Andover Theological Seminary?"—G.

Fairs.

The most cheering accounts have reached me of the success of the Philadelphia and Massachusetts Fairs. The former, I understand, to have been more successful than in former years, notwithstanding the *sifting process* which the Abolitionists of that State have been undergoing the past year. A correspondent in Boston, writes as follows, of the Fair there:

Dear Gay:—The Managers of the Fair will not, I know, find time in the midst of the cares and fatigues incident to the day after, to give you even a word as to the result, in season for the next paper; so I will tell it you, as nearly as I can learn it, knowing how great an interest is felt in the effort as well in England as in the United States. Well—$2,700, or thereabouts, will be the amount raised; so that the nett proceeds cannot fail to run beyond those of any former year. This is the *pecuniary* result. The moral result is incalculable. Multitudes besides yourself, and myself, date their first active participation in the cause from the Fair of such or such a year. Of the pleasures and fatigues of the occasion—the interesting conversations—the touching incidents—the remarkable and distinguished visitors—the beautiful contributions—the generous donations—the zealous labors, and all the other particulars of the brilliant success, you will learn from the Managers themselves, so I forbear. The Soirée which, in fact, though not in form, concluded the season, was a most interesting one. The Hall was filled with the members and friends of the American Society, and all listened with delight to the lofty and cheering oratory, and brilliant sallies of Phillips, Garrison, Douglass, and Buffum. You will, I have reason to think, receive a report of their remarks for your paper, so I will only say, that the cause seems to be a fresh inspiration to those devoted men every time they rise in its behalf. Their speeches were replete with brilliant wit, general humor, deep thought, and poetical expression. A happier evening has been seldom spent, if the countenances of the Abolitionists there met, from all parts of the country, were any index to their hearts. I must stop or lose the mail.

Heartily, but truly yours,

———.

"Foul Conspiracy brought to Light."

The city papers have published a report with the above caption, of a case which came before the Upper Police in this city a few days since. Wm. Wales, Jeremiah Simmons, Geffrey Overton, and Samuel Finney, were bound over to keep the peace, on complaint of one George D. Morse, whose life, it is said, they had threatened to take. The papers tell the following very improbable story: That a conspiracy had been formed among the colored people of Princess Ann County, Va. to murder, during the holydays, all the whites, and such of the colored people as would not join in the conspiracy, in that County, and that Willis Hodge, of Williamsburg, L. I. had gone on to Virginia, to take part in carrying out their plans. Morse, whose parents reside in that section of the country, having heard of the contemplated insurrection, immediately sent the information to the authorities in Princess Ann County, and Hodge was arrested, as well as several others implicated in the plot. Whereupon Wales, Finney, Simmons, and Overton, suspecting Morse's agency in the matter, threatened his life, which led to their arrest.

Now the true facts in the case, I understand to be these, and if my informant is correct, a most foul and diabolical plot it is. Hodge went to Virginia, to settle the estate of his father, recently deceased. He and Morse have had some difficulty, growing out of a connection in trade, and the latter took this method of revenge. He invented this story, and sent it on to Virginia, and the result of course was the arrest of Hodge. He is now in prison, in Virginia, and the report in town among the colored people is, that he was to be *hanged* on Friday last, unless certain evidence was sent on to prove his innocence of the charge preferred against him! How far this report may be true, I am unable to say, but that the poor man is in prison, on a charge of exciting an insurrection, is certain; and we know that the panic-struck slaveholders mete most summary punishment in such cases. The man must be an incarnate fiend that could thus jeopardise the life of another.

Convention in Philadelphia.

The official report of this meeting reached me too late for publication in this week's paper. Those who were not present will be glad to know that the attendance was very full, and that the meeting passed off without the slightest disturbance—a remarkable fact for Philadelphia, where they get up mobs for the fun of it. The first day and a half of the meeting was consumed in discussing a series of resolutions which declared that the position taken by the American Society, at its last meeting, was unconstitutional. It was a mere waste of time to do this,—as the merits of the position itself were not allowed to be discussed. The vote, however, upon them may be regarded as a test vote, as they were rejected, by 33 yeas to 92 nays: a series of resolutions was also introduced affirming the non-voting theory. A direct vote on them was not taken, but the tellers being unable to agree on a count on an amendment, the whole subject was indefinitely postponed. On the whole, however, the result of the meeting is an unequivocal proof that the doctrines of the present society are held by the great majority of the Abolitionists of Eastern Pennsylvania. I congratulate our friends there on this gratifying result.

I notice a resolution offered by Thomas Earle, and passed, recommending "to Executive Committees, lecturers, and editors of Anti-Slavery Societies, and newspapers, as well as speakers at Anti-Slavery meetings, that they promote a spirit of conciliation, charity, and forbearance between Abolitionists who entertain different views as to the most just and expedient means of effecting universal emancipation." I presume our friend Earle intended this for his third party friends, who might at the same time have been recommended to observe the rules of common honesty and decency.

Colonization.

A correspondent of the New-York Mirror, proposes a plan for the Annexation of Texas, which he thinks doubtless would reconcile both friends and enemies of that project, and at the same time give himself a very comfortable chance of immortality. As it seems to attract no attention in the right quarter, it shall have a place in our columns, to preserve it from oblivion.

His proposition is, that Texas shall be annexed, and that that portion in which cotton and sugar can be grown, and the climate of which is, therefore, suitable for the colored race, but not for the white, be given up to the former, to be owned by them, and its Government entirely and exclusively in their hands. He proposes that they shall enjoy the same right of representation in Congress, and the same political rights in other respects as the whites. The State shall be, in short, one of the United States in every respect except that whites shall be excluded from ownership in the soil, and from all participation in political privileges. He expresses himself quite satisfied, that the plan is practicable, and adds: "Is it not humane? Is it not wise? Is it not just? and may I not ask, Is it not demanded by the spirit of American progress in politics and morals?" He neglects one feature, to make it perfectly in keeping with the progress of American politics and morals. The negroes should have the privilege of a peculiar institution of which the whites should be the subjects. There would be retributive justice in that at least.

"Show us your Plan."

The day is not far distant when we shall be able to point out to all cavillers, not our plan, but the fruits thereof. Many of them will not, even then, understand how the thing came about. It matters, little, however, so that it comes. Kentucky, perhaps, is destined to make the first movement in Emancipation. She is better able, from local circumstances, to make the first experiment, and from the spirit of her people, most likely to set the example. A letter in the Vermont Chronicle, from a respectable citizen in Louisville, says:

"I know the real sentiments of most of our leading men, and I believe next year a decided step will be taken to amend the Constitution of Kentucky, with a view to the extirpation of Slavery; it is ruining us as a people, impoverishing us as a State, and poisoning our public and private morals."

Whether this is precisely correct as to the time, or not, it is certain that such a step will be taken ere long.

Interesting Case.

A case has been pending in the United States Circuit Court, at its recent session in Indianapolis, in the decision of which is involved the right of citizens of slave States to arrest fugitives in the Northwest Territory, and States formed therefrom. It was an action of debt brought by Singleton Vaugn against David Anthony to recover the penalty of $500, assessed under the act of 1793, for obstructing the plantiff, and preventing him from arresting three fugitive slaves. It brings up before a judicial tribunal the point which Congress decided in the admission of Missouri as a Slave State. The following is a summary of the points in question:

The declaration states, in substance, that the plaintiff is a citizen and resident of Missouri; that some seven years ago his slaves escaped from him and came to Hamilton County, Indiana. That last spring he obtained a warrant for their arrest from an officer of Hamilton County, and proceeded to arrest them, and that the defendant interfered and prevented him from obtaining them.

The defendant demurred to the declaration, and assigned for the grounds of his demurrer, that, by the 6th article of the compact between the United States and the people of the Northwest Territory, the right of pursuing and reclaiming *fugitives from labor*, is only given to the citizens of the *original States*. That Missouri is not an original State, nor within the meaning of that article.

That the compact being declared unalterable forever, neither the Constitution of the Union, nor any act of Congress, can affect it.

That the act of Congress of 1793, made some six years after the compact, interferes with and violates it, and is an assumption of power, over a resident of a State without authority.

That by the law of Indiana every man within her territory is prima facia free, and that the laws of another State cannot make such a resident a slave.

That though any one of the citizens of any original State may claim his fugitive slave in Indiana, yet no citizen of a new State can.

That the only *conditions* by which the plaintiff, being a citizen of a new State can hold his slaves, are: First, that he lawfully acquired them in the State of Missouri, and secondly, that he keeps them there, or without the boundaries of the Northwest Territory.

The cause is continued on demurrer, until the next term of the Court.

Florida.

This Territory is an applicant to Congress for admission into the Union as a State. Her population does not yet entitle her to admission, but she claims exemption from the Ordinance of 1787, and asks it by virtue of the Treaty of 1819, wherein our Government contracted that "the inhabitants of the territories which his Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States by this Treaty shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the *Federal Constitution*, (not Ordinance of '87,) and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States."

About one half her population is slaves. The following is the XVI article of the proposed State Constitution:

1. *The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of Slaves.*

2. They shall have no power to prevent emigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as may be deemed slaves by the laws of any one of the United States; provided, they shall have power to enact laws to prevent the introduction of any slaves who may have committed crimes in other States.

3. The General Assembly shall have power to pass law to prevent free negroes, mulattoes, and other persons of color from immigrating to this State, or from being discharged from on board any vessel in any of the ports of Florida.

No doubt when the question of her admission comes up in Congress, it will lead to a debate upon Slavery, at least for decency's sake, if nothing more. The atrocious laws, however, which she has heretofore enforced in relation to free colored persons, have existed by the will of the Government, and it is hardly to be expected that she will be kept out of the Union, only because she makes Slavery perpetual. The South will have this matter their own way, as usual. I observe that her Bill of Rights is very carefully worded, as the terms "freemen," "citizens," "and free white men," are used instead of the term "people," where slaves are not intended to be included.

Late from Texas.

The steamship New-York arrived on the 23d ultimo, at New-Orleans from Galveston. A bearer of despatches from our Chargé at Texas to the Government in Washington came passenger in the New-York. By this arrival, the message of President Jones is received, but it contains nothing of interest.

The question of Annexation is, of course, a prominent one for discussion in the Texas papers. The people of that respectable Republic are, no doubt very anxious to receive the countenance and protection of this in their villany. They are chiefly Southern people, and have a filial and reverential regard for the Institutions—or rather Institution, for there is but one—of their Father Land. The pretensions which have sometimes been put forth, that they are indifferent to Annexation, are doubtless only feigned. They mean not only to be annexed, if they can, but to make a good bargain. The Houston Vindicator has a long article on the subject, in which it speaks of the rejection of the Treaty by the United States Senate as "an act of madness," and concludes as follows:

In this instance Jonathan did not evince his wonted practical sense; usually, no gentleman can see the advantage of a good bargain quicker than he. He blundered this time. The next, we will try and have something to say in the bargain. We shall not resist Annexation If the people will have it, be it so. But such a treaty as was negotiated last winter, we will resist to the bitter end. A reasonable treaty that secures to our citizens a share of the public domain, for literary purposes—a guaranty for our slave property, and admission into the Union as a State, on the same condition as other States have been admitted, without qualifications, save the establishment of a Constitution in accordance with that of the General Government—will meet with our concurrence. More of this anon.

The Galveston Courier of the 14th ultimo, (seven days after the arrival of the British Chargé d'Affairs, Mr. Elliot,) has the following significant paragraph:

The political elements were never more tranquil in Texas than at present. We apprehend, however, that they will not long remain in this state. Unless we are greatly deceived in the signs of the times, a new and highly important question will be proposed for the decision of our citizens, and we adjure them in advance to give it that calm and rational consideration which its importance demands. The question, we think, will be put in a tangible and authentic shape, whether we will take an acknowledgment of our independence from Mexico, coupled with the condition that we will decline the overture of annexation from the United States, or await the chances of a union with that nation. We are inclined to think that this issue will be presented much sooner than many expect, and think that it is one which should be viewed dispassionately and candidly by all parties, for all have an equal interest at stake in the matter, and the same motives of patriotism to govern their decision.

Massachusetts.

The Legislature convened last week, and the Governor's Message was delivered on Saturday. Nearly one-half of it is occupied with the subject of Annexation. It declares that the State will remain true to the Constitution, notwithstanding its objectionable features, and however much it, and the Union may be assailed. Of course the Governor thinks that Annexation is unconstitutional. Nothing is said of the difficulty with South Carolina. This probably is reserved for a special message. Mr. Hoar has been chosen a member of the Council.

Isaac T. Hopper.

The Association recently formed in this city, for the purpose of assisting discharged convicts, and bringing about various needed reforms in connection with prisons, has appointed our esteemed friend, Isaac T. Hopper, their agent. His long experience, from an official connection with the prisons in Pennsylvania, his great humanity, and the confidence which his character and general bearing inspires in all with whom he comes in contact, peculiarly fit him for this position. The convicts will find in him a friend who will watch over their interests, and lead them in the right path with parental solicitude; and a field is opened to him in which his active habits, and enlarged benevolence, will find full and satisfactory employment. A more judicious appointment could not have been made.

The Statue.

At a meeting held at the Astor House a few evenings since, it was determined to erect a statue to Mr. Clay somewhere in this city. Mr. Crawford is to be the artist. The expense of the work will be ten thousand dollars. I do not learn that anything was said of commemorating Mr. Clay's strenuous exertions in behalf of Emancipation, as has been seriously proposed.

Obituary.

Our beloved friend, Francis Wright, of Utica, died in Philadelphia, on the 2d instant. To those who knew him not, it needs not that it should be told that a good man has died, for such die every day; and those who knew him will ask for no long eulogy on one whom they so loved and esteemed. But those who knew him best, will mourn not only that they have lost a friend, but that a *true man* has died. To our short sightedness it seems that we can ill spare him. We need always the clear head, the generous heart, and the willing hand like his, and when such an one is taken from our side, we have few words of comfort for each other. That he is mourned for, and that he will not be forgotten, is his best eulogy, and that he did well his work our best solace.

Missouri.—A series of resolutions passed both houses of the Missouri Legislature in favor of Annexation.

New Publications.

The American Society has recently issued two pamphlets: one contains the address of the Society at its last Annual Meeting, and the admirable letter of Francis Jackson to the Governor of Massachusetts, in resigning his commission as Justice of the Peace;—and the other is a compilation of all the evidence given in the Madison Papers, and other works, of the intentions of the Framers of the Constitution, and of those who adopted it, in relation to Slavery. No honest mind, it seems to me, can escape the conviction, after reading this evidence, that the Constitution is a pro-slavery instrument. Both pamphlets should be widely circulated. They are for sale at this office. The first for twelve and a half cents, and the second, which contains one hundred and twenty pages, for twenty-five cents.

Anti-Rent Troubles.—These seem nearly at an end. At Hudson, all is quiet. Several arrests have been made, and facts divulged, in the examination of witnesses, which will probably lead to the discovery of those who have been most active in all the difficulties, under the guise of Indians.

Indiana.—The Senate of this State have voted not to receive the fourth instalment of the Surplus Revenue. A resolution was introduced to show that this money was needed to pay off the interest on the State debt, and would save so much direct tax; but it was voted down.

John B. Mahan.—This tried friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, died recently, in Ohio. It will be recollected that he was imprisoned in 1838, for several weeks, in Kentucky, for aiding fugitives to escape. He was, however, acquitted on his trial, on the ground that the Kentucky Courts had no right to sit in judgment on acts committed in Ohio.

Execution.—Thomas Barrett, convicted of the murder of Mrs. Haughton, was murdered according to law in Worcester, Mass. on Friday last.

John Quincy Adams.—The Ohio House of Representatives have rescinded the resolutions passed in 1841–'42, in censure of Mr. Adams for presenting to Congress the Haverhill petition for a Dissolution of the Union. The vote was yeas 40, nays 21.

James G. Birney.—A variety of documents in relation to the Saginaw nomination have been published. Such portion of them as is necessary to a true understanding of the case, will be republished next week in the Standard.

The Philanthropist.—This paper declares itself not entirely satisfied with Mr. Birney's explanation of matters pertaining to the Saginaw nomination. It also ventures to criticise a recent address of a Liberty party Convention in this State, and among other things its adulation of Mr. Birney. It will never do to bolt out of party traces in this fashion.

Clerical Scoundrelism.—The Right Reverend Father in God—I believe that is the proper title—Bishop Oaderdonk, whose trial has been going on for some weeks past in this city, has been found guilty of grossly licentious and indecent conduct, and suspended from the exercise of his ministerial and Episcopal functions.

Domestic Slave-Trade.—A resolution has been introduced into the Legislature of Alabama, prohibiting the introduction of slaves for merchandize, or for establishing plantations, except by emigrants and citizens. It was referred to a committee of nine, after some considerable confusion. It is intended only to abolish the practice of carrying on large plantations by persons residing in other States.

From Hayti.—Commissioners have arrived in this country from the Spanish part of the Island, which has declared itself independent of the Haytien Government. They desire to open a trade with the United States, and procure the acknowledgment of their independence. If they are white folks, their mission will be successful, though they came from the infernal regions.

Gen. Lamar, ex-President of Texas, is now in this city.

Charles T. Torrey has been removed to the Penitentiary, and placed in the weaving department.

☞ The Legislature of this State convened on Tuesday. As the Standard goes to press on Wednesday morning, of course we can give no news, should there be any worth giving, from this quarter.

Delia A. Webster.—The Governor of Kentucky has refused to pardon Miss Webster, and she must, therefore, serve out her allotted time of two years in the Penitentiary.

☞ Our acknowledgments are due the Hon. J. R. Giddings, for public documents.

Congress.

Twenty-Eighth Congress.

From our Washington Correspondent.

Washington City, 1st mo. 4th, 1845.

Friend Gay: Yesterday morning about the first move in the House of Representatives, was a motion by C. J. Ingersoll to suspend the rules, that the House might resolve itself into Committee of the Whole, on the state of the Union, for the purpose of taking up the Texas resolutions. The Speaker said the first business in order was the bill to reduce the price of the public lands. G. S. Houston (author of that bill) said as there was some opposition to the bill, he would withdraw it at present. The Speaker then put the question on the suspension of the rules. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey, hoped it would not interfere with the morning hour. J. Vance inquired if this was not private bill day. The Speaker said the motion to suspend took precedence. C. Rogers called for the yeas and nays on the suspension of the rules. The result was, yeas 107, nays 63. So the rules being suspended, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, G. W. Hopkins, of Virginia, in the Chair.

C. J. Ingersoll then moved that the committee take up the Texas resolutions. The Chairman stated that it would first be necessary to set aside the bill which was before the Committee when it last rose. C. J. Ingersoll moved to lay aside that bill. Shepard Cary inquired if he was not entitled to the floor on that subject, and if any other gentleman could claim the floor for the purpose of making such a motion.

The Chairman decided that the committee might select its own business. The Land bill was then set aside, and after a motion to amend the resolutions by J. B. Weller, and some further conversation, the resolutions were read

C. J. Ingersoll then proceeded to address the Committee. This northern man with southern feelings, must at this moment have felt very happy, provided the approving smiles of four score of slaveholders could impart such a sensation. He was soon surrounded by many members who wished to hear the opening arguments on the subject. I have given a few of the points of Ingersoll's argument, and the position taken. He did not intend to do more than to make a *statement*, reserving arguments till objections made it necessary.

It had been discussed abundantly, everywhere but in this House—even more in the European newspapers than in this hall. He had told his constituents that if elected he would consider himself instructed to advocate Annexation.

The advancement of public sentiment in favor of the measure had been rapid, almost without a parallel. A year ago little was known about it. A vote of Congress on it then would have been largely negatived. There was but little attention directed to it, but what was elicited by the manifesto of some members of Congress, warning the country against Annexation as the mother of Disunion and Slavery—twin calamities, earnestly deprecated as its offspring. But the acquisition of Florida, nor even the carrying on the war of the Revolution for three years were without even more opposition than exists now to this measure.

If, then, we represent an American Union, governed by the will of the people, it is the duty of Congress, said he, to *bring back Texas* into the Union. With the exception of an unfounded apprehension of the spread of domestic Slavery, the numerous plans introduced into this House, for the accomplishment of the object, show the interest taken in it, and the desire which prevails among members, to covet the honor of being the advocates of Texas.

He would, as a great friend of the measure, try to create harmony, and would vote for *any* reasonable measure for its attainment.

As it is annexation to and at the South, he thought the wishes of the South ought to be most consulted, as Maine and Massachusetts were in the settlement of the North-Eastern boundary question. It was undeniable, however, said he, that Southern interests, Southern frontiers, Southern institutions—I mean slavery and all—were to be primarily regarded in settling the restoration of Texas. It was a Texas question, and a Southern question. If Southern Secretaries of State—one of whom originated, and another is striving to consummate the affair—betray Southern partialities which some of us may deem not quite national, that was no reason why a great national measure should not be effected on great national considerations. He then alluded to the conduct of our Minister to Mexico, &c. and remarked that all these were not sufficient reasons why the affair should be frustrated.

Ingersoll then glanced at the commercial, agricultural, manufacturing, and the navigation advantages. The acquisition of Louisiana was admitted on all hands to be a great benefit, and the United States lost half the value of that acquisition for the want of Texas. The extension of our laws over Texas and Oregon would in a few years be a prodigious advantage to the free trade between different parts of the country. The wider the area of freedom and equality the better, though some of the laborers be bondmen. When notions of free trade and permanent peace began to dawn under the greatest of the French monarchs, and he desired to associate all Europe in one great Republican Confederation, it was but an imperfect idea of what these United States may be with five Texan and ten Oregon States added to the twenty-six now in the Union, under institutions of free trade, local sovereignty, and representative Government.

Mr. Ingersoll continued at some length, and in the course of his speech, said that neither war with Mexico or Great Britain need be apprehended.

Mr. Belser, of Alabama, next addressed the Committee.

He is a very zealous advocate for Annexation, and was not wedded to any particular scheme. The forepart of his argument was confined to the constitutional view of the matter.

This morning J. P. Phœnix asked leave to present a memorial on a subject now before the House. No objection being made, he presented a memorial from the Society of Friends, in New-York, against the Annexation of Texas, and asked for the reading thereof. The Clerk proceeded to read it. It protested against Annexation, on the ground of the extension of Slavery.

J. A. McClenand, of Illinois, moved to dispense with the reading, but on being informed by the Clerk, that but one paragraph remained to be read, he withdrew his motion.

John Campbell, of South Carolina, renewed the motion of the gentleman from Illinois. He hoped the paper would not be read. He did not think the gentleman from New-York [Mr. Phœnix] had acted with his usual fairness in introducing this paper in this manner, and calling for its reading, its contents being unknown by the House. Why inflict such a paper on the House? There had not been a more violent anti-slavery paper before the House at this session. He would have expected more frankness and candor from the gentleman from New-York.

Mr. Phœnix remarked that these resolutions came from the very highest source. He had not been exactly aware of its contents, but as he had been requested, he had asked its reading. He now moved the reference to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The question was taken, and the further reading of the petition was dispensed with.

The second division of the motion of Mr. Campbell (being the first motion in order) was taken—the yeas and nays having been ordered, on motion of Mr. Hamlin, of Ohio; and the vote stood, yeas 87, nays 87—at tie.

The Speaker voted in the affirmative, thus making the vote—yeas 88, nays 87.

So the petition was laid on the table.

The Texas question was then taken up. R. B. Rhett wished the vote to be taken on one of the resolutions, embracing the simple abstract proposition, whether Texas shall be admitted.

James R. Ingersoll then having the floor, spoke an hour against the resolutions, which is the first speech that has been made on that side. He took a general view of the subject—spoke of the difference between the case of the purchase of Louisiana and that of Texas. On the subject of Slavery, as connected with it, he spoke a short time. He considered *that* sufficient ground to oppose it. He dwelt upon the compromise of the Constitution, by which the Northern and Southern States were bound together, and said he would be the first to step forward and prevent the extension of Slavery beyond those bounds. He would say, "Thus far shall thou come, and no farther."

The law of the United States prohibited the introduction of a single slave into the United States. The Constitution had, at the request of the Southern States, deferred their inhibition till 1808, but here we were about to introduce, at one fell swoop twenty-five thousand slaves into the United States, and this, too, as we were gravely told, *to diminish Slavery!*

It was plain, he conceived, that the traffic in slaves from the Northern slave States to that new country, and the rearing of them for that purpose was one of the advantages contemplated.

W. W. Payne, of Alabama, followed. He counted over the advantages in dollars and cents, of the Annexation of Texas. He thought to pay their debt of ten millions, would be but a paltry sum for the nett gain to this nation. The public land he counted worth more than one hundred millions.

He grew impetuous and vehement when he adverted to the introduction by J. R. Ingersoll, of the "negro breeding" question. He also alluded to John Q. Adams and Joshua R. Giddings, the former as too imbecile, and the latter as too *vulgar* and *despicable* to be noticed, or instead of agitating the Slavery question here, as they were always disposed to do, *he would rather settle it there*, gripping his fist and holding it out over the floor. His face was desperately distorted, and his words assumed the form of a bark as he expressed in language scarely intelligible, his disgust of the agitation of the Slavery question, and especially did he seem to deprecate the connection of that subject with the question of Annexation.

Although Belser had acknowledged that their principal object in acquiring Texas, was to secure their Slave property and C. J. Ingersoll had admitted it to be a southern measure, they are greatly alarmed to have the Slavery question connected with it by those who oppose it. And they may well do it for I believe there is not yet a pro-slavery majority in the House sufficient to carry the measure through.

As Payne's hour expired and the Chairman's hammer fell, five or six members sprang to their feet, and the Chairman recognizing R. C. Winthrop, the latter after remarking that for five years he had been unable to obtain the floor on an adjournment, he moved that the Committee rise. The advantage of obtaining the floor in the evening is to afford *time* to prepare.

A good speech may therefore be looked for to-morrow, from that gentleman.

Respectfully, R. B. D.

Married,

In Watertown, Dec. 26, Mr. James Russell Lowell, of Cambridge, to Maria, daughter of Abijah White, Esq, of Watertown.

Died.

The Hon. Roger Minot Sherman, an eminent lawyer, of Connecticut, on the 30th ultimo, at Fairfield, in that State, aged 72. Mr. Sherman was a member of the Hartford Convention. He was a nephew of the celebrated revolutionary patriot, Roger Sherman.

In Boston, Major Benjamin Russell, the veteran, printer and Editor of the old "Columbian Centinel," on Saturday morning, aged 83 years.

In Philadelphia, on the morning of the 29th ultimo Dr. Robert Moore, in the 81st year of his age.

NOTICES.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The subjoined series of meetings have been agreed upon for Abby Kelley, E. J. Hitchcock, Dr. E. D. Hudson, and Dr. E. Fussell.

It will be seen that in most instances, appointments have been made for the same day in different places. This is for the purpose of economising time and labor; and will be managed by letting one half of the company—say Dr. Hudson and E. J. Hitchcock, go forward from a given place to the next place appointed, and hold a meeting or meetings one day, leaving the other half—Abby Kelley and Dr. Fussell—to follow the next day and continue the meeting. Thus will double the amount of work be accomplished in the same space of time.

The precise hour at which the meetings are to be held, are left to be arranged by persons in the different places enumerated. Blank handbills calculated to facilitate the publishing of these notices, can be had at the Anti-Slavery office, No. 31 North Fifth Street. Friends in the country had better send and procure some.

Wilmington, Delaware, on the		6th and 7th.
Centreville,	"	8th and 9th.
Hockessen,	"	9th and 10th.
New Garden Lyceum, Pennsylvania,		10th and 11th.
Pennsgrove,	"	11th and 12th.
Eastland,	"	12th and 13th.
Andrews Bridge,	"	13th and 14th.
Bart,	"	15th.
Sadsbury *and* Coehranville,	"	16th.
East Fallowfield,	"	17th and 18th.
Parkersville *or* E. Marlboro,	"	18th and 19th.
Westchester,	"	20th and 21st.
Lionville *or* Windsor,	"	22d and 23d.
West Nantmeal M. House,	"	23d and 24th.
Pottstown,	"	24th and 25th.
Evansburg,	"	25th and 26th.
Norristown,	"	27th and 28th.
Abington,	"	29th and 30th.
Penn's Manor,	"	30th and 31st.

WINDHAM COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The above named society will convene in the new Universal Meeting on Canterbury Green, on the 15th day of January next, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The Anti-Slavery corps in this vicinity, I trust, will not require any special call to induce them to be punctual in their attendance. The clergy in the town of Canterbury especially, and in the neighboring towns, are respectfully invited to attend the meeting, and participate in the discussions. Speakers from abroad are expected to be present.

JAMES B. WHITCOMB.

Brooklyn, Dec. 27th, 1844.

LECTURES BY STEPHEN S. FOSTER AND C. L. REMOND.

Harwich, Wednesday evening and Thursday, January 8th and 9th.

BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the Marlborough Hall, No. 3, on Wednesday, January 8th, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

S. H. SOUTHWICK, *Rec. Sec'y.*

NEW ENGLAND FOURIER SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the New England Fourier Society, will be held in Boston, on Wednesday, January 15, 1845, at 10 o'clock, A. M. A general attendance of the friends of Association is earnestly requested.

GEORGE RIPLEY, President.

John Allen, Secretary.

NEW-YORK WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT.

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.

ASHES.		**IRON.**	
Pot, first sort 1844.	3.75 a .	Pig, Eng. & Sc. ton	30.00 a 31.00
Pearl	4.00 a 4.06½	do. American	30.00 a 31.00
CANDLES.		Bar do. rolled	80.00 a .
Mould, tallow lb.	9 a 12	do. Russia P.S.I.	92.50 a 97.50
Sperm	28 a 30	do. do. N. Sable	75.00 a .
Stearic do.	20 a 24	do. Swedes	77.50 a .
COAL.		do. Eng. com.	62.50 a 65.00
Liverpool, chaldron,	10.00 a 10.50	do. do. refined	80.00 a .
Newcastle	8.75 a 9.75	Sheet E. & Am.	5½ a 6
Scotch	7.25 a 7.50	Hoop do. do. cwt.	5.00 a 5.50
Sidney and Pictou	8.25 a 8.50	**LEAD.**	
Anthracite, 2,000lbs.	5.00 a 6.00	Pig, 100 lbs.	3.75 a 4.00
COFFEE.		Bar, lb.	4 a 4½
Java	9 a 10½	Sheet	4½ a
Sumatra	6½ a 6¾	**LEATHER.**	
Porto Rico	7½ a 7¾	Oak lb. (sole,)	19 a 24
Laguayra	6½ a 7¾	Hemlock, light	14½ a 15½
Cuba	6 a 7	do. middle	14 a 15
Brazil	6 a 7	do. heavy	13 a 14
St. Domingo	5½ a 6	do. damaged	11½ a 12½
COTTON.		**LUMBER.**	
New Orleans	8½ a 9	Boards, N. R.	30.00 a 35.00
Alabama	8 a 8¾	M. ft.	
Florida	4½ a 6½	do. east pine	10.00 a 11.00
Upland	4½ a 6½	do. Albany, piece	7 a .17
Upland, fair	5½ a 6½	Plank Ga. pine, M. ft.	32.00a 30.00
Upland, good and fair	6 a 6½	Scantling pine	14.00 a 16.00
DOMESTICS.		do. oak	30.00 a 35.00
Shirtings, brown 3-4	5 a 6½	Timber oak, cu. ft.	.25 a .37
do. do. 7-8	6 a 7	do. Ga. yel. pine	.35 a .40
do. bleached	7 a 9	Shingles, cy. M.	10.00 a 13.00
do. S. I. do.	7 a 11	Staves w. o. pipe M.	47.00 a 49.00
Sheetings, brown 4-4	7 a 9	do. do. hhd.	34.00 a 36.00
do. do. 5-4	10 a 12½	do. do. bbl.	28.00 a 29.00
do. bleached 4-4	7 a 12	do. r. oak hhd.	27.00 a 30.00
do. do. 5-4	12 a 15	Heading, w. o.	40.00 a 43.00
Calicoes, blue	7 a 12	Hoops	25.00 a 30.00
do. fancy	6 a 14	**MOLASSES.**	
Plaids	9 a 11	New-Orleans, gall.	22 a
Stripes, fast colors	8 a 10	Porto Rico	22 a 25
Satinetts	40 a 75

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WHERE IS THY BROTHER?

He whom the heart of man shuts out,
Straightway the heart of God takes in !—J. R. Lowell.

"Am I my brother's keeper ?"—asketh he
Who sets his heel upon his brother's neck,
To rob him of himself and pluck away
The chaplet of divinity which God
Places on every brow bedecked with all
The amaranthine flowers, whose leaves make up
The sweets of immortality ! And seals
With cruelty and scorn, and chill despair,
The Angel-lips of hope, whose fairy tones
Are life's first melody—the fountains pure
Of Nature's untaught love, and crucifies
The sweetest charities that keep alive
The Altar-light of Home. And this is done
That gold may shine around the bed of death,
And be the strife of kindred when his lamp
Of years hath flickered out !

"Am I my brother's keeper ?"—This hath been
Guilt's weary language since that holy Voice
That questioned Earth's first murderer, breathed upon
The gales of Paradise, and Nature blushed
For her poor fallen lord. The Evil-doer
Will always break the chain of brotherhood,
Betray the holy messengers of God,
To screen himself from vengeance. The dark soul
Grouping beneath the shade of evil deeds
Hath less of courage than a little child
For breasting danger. It hath naught whereon
To fix the gaze of hope—no star that smiles
From the Cimmerian gloom—no Ararat
Pillowing the storm-tossed ark of Faith,
When stealeth on the trial hour of pain.
So with a cunning subtlety of fraud
'Twill strive to evade the questioning of Truth;
Or seek to hide the nakedness of crime
Beneath the fig-leaf covering of law
Woven in barbarous times !

Oh ! man must be
His brother's keeper. God hath fastened not
His wandering children by one silver chain
Of sympathy together for *our* hands
Profanely to unloose, and turn its links
To prison fetters. He hath so contrived
The plan of being that each one shall be
The guardian of the other—watching o'er
His destiny for good, and throwing round
His faltering steps the halo of a prayer,
And pouring comfort's oil upon the wounds
That wrong hath made, and "sorrow's tooth"
Keeps open still ! Even with all this—
Even with the golden confidence of love—
The sweet assurances of mutual trust—
The gladsome converse of endeavoring souls
The vigils of this world are sad enough.
Its cares, misfortunes, loses, griefs, and pains,
Weave round the soul enough of weary gloom
To make us feel, at times, a heaviness
Of heart, that wishes that "its cup might pass
If it were possible !"

Thou who doest tread
Thy weaker brother down—blots from his heart
The life of his humanity, the hour will,
Will come when God will surely ask of thee,
"Where is thy Brother ?" S. SWAIN, Jr.

Philadelphia, 11th mo. 1844.

THE DEATH OF THE OLD YEAR.

BY ALFRED TENNYSON.

Full knee-deep lies the winter-snow,
And the winter-winds are wearily sighing:
Toll ye the church bell sad and slow
And tread softly and speak low,
For the old year lies a-dying.
Old year, you must not die;
You came to us so readily,
You lived with us so steadily,
Old year, you shall not die.

He lieth still: he doth not move:
He will not see the dawn of day.
He hath no other life above.
He gave me a friend, and a true true-love,
And the New-year will take 'em away.
Old year, you must not go;
So long as you have been with us,
Such joy as you have seen with us,
Old year, you shall not go.

He froth'd his bumpers to the brim;
A jollier year we shall not see.
But though his eyes are waxing dim,
And though his foes speak ill of him,
He was a friend to me.
Old year, you shall not die;
We did so laugh and cry with you,
I've half a mind to die with you,
Old year, if you must die.

He was full of joke and jest,
But all his merry quips are o'er.
To see him die, across the waste
His son and heir doth ride post-haste,
But he'll be dead before.
Every one for his own.
The night is starry and cold, my friend,
And the New-year blithe and bold my friend,
Comes up to take his own.

How hard he breathes! over the snow
I heard just now the crowing cock,
The shadows flicker to and fro:
The crickets chirp: the light burns low:
'Tis nearly twelve o'clock.
Shake hands before you die.
Old year, we'll dearly rue for you:
What is it we can do for you:
Speak out before you die.

His face is growing sharp and thin.
Alack! our friend is gone.
Close up his eyes: tie up his chin:
Step from the corpse, and let him in
That standeth there alone,
And waiteth at the door.
There's a new foot on the floor, my friend,
And a new face at the door, my friend,
A new face at the door.

ALL MANKIND ARE BROTHERS.

[The following beautiful lines were written by Dr. Bowring, in the album of a lady residing in the Isle of Man.]

Rejoice with the rejoicing,
And with the weeping weep—
Your thoughts, your hearts, your voice, in
Divine communion keep !
As for yourselves, for others
Think, feel, speak and do;
For all mankind are brothers—
One God their Father too.

All cradled in their weakness,
Are crouched upon life's stage,—
Joy, grief, tears, smiles, health, sickness,
The common heritage;
Now hope's delightful vision—
Now shapes and sights of dread—
And then—the general prison,
Which gathers up the dead.

Yet o'er life's path our Father
Hath scattered lovely flowers—
Those lovely flowers to gather
In harmony be ours!
To group—to blend—to wreath them,
For those with whom we roam,
And dying, to bequeath them
To pilgrims yet to come.

Miscellany.

From the Boston Courier.

TALES OF DESTITUTION, WO, AND DEATH.

The English papers usually contain a number of accounts of death from starvation, and of almost unparalleled suffering from poverty and want; but our latest papers furnish similar details in great numbers, and of a character that cannot fail to awaken sympathy for the sufferers, and detestation for a Government which permits such poverty to exist. We have abridged one of these accounts, chiefly from the police reports in one paper—omitting many of the particulars of date and locality.

On an investigation touching the death of a poor woman, named Russell, who died while the officers were removing her to the workhouse, Richard Bond, the relieving officer, deposed that he visited the deceased, on application from another female—found her lying on the floor, complaining of pains in her legs and chest—he asked what he should do for her, when she replied—"O, I shall be thankful if you can get me into the workhouse." He made out an order for her admission, and heard no more of her, till the next day, when he was informed she was dead. Johanna Fahen said, that she obtained a scanty livelihood by carrying heavy loads in the Borough-market. The deceased, whom she had known for some time, did the same. About a fortnight ago, the deceased called on witness, and begged for a shelter, as she had no place to go to. Witness took her in, and made her as comfortable as her means would admit. On Saturday week witness and the deceased went out at six o'clock in the morning to look after a job, and whilst walking round the market the deceased was suddenly seized with pains in the legs, and was carried home to witness's house. She continued to get worse until Friday, when witness saw Mr. Bond, who gave her an order to remove the deceased into the poor-house. The next morning two of the men belonging to the workhouse brought a "cot," which runs on two wheels, to convey the deceased into the house. The men placed her inside, and closed the top, and proceeded to the workhouse, and on opening the lid of the cot they found she had died on the road.

Anne Smelt, a poor woman whose appearance exhibited the lowest state of privation and wretchedness, was charged with robbing a furnished lodging she had occupied in the house of a man named Howes. The prosecutor said the lodging was taken about a fortnight ago by a man who represented himself as the prisoner's husband, and who was accompanied at that time by the prisoner and a little girl five years of age. At the end of the first week the man absconded, and not having either seen or heard of the prisoner and her child for four or five days, he went up to their apartment, and found them lying upon the bed in the most wretched condition, with nothing to cover them but the tattered rags they had on their persons. They appeared to be in the agonies of starvation, and, on questioning her, the woman confessed that she had pledged the blankets, and other covering off the bed, the week before, to procure food for the child. Witness gave them some victuals, which they both devoured very ravenously, and then was induced to give the woman into custody, in the hope of rescuing her from her dreadful situation, rather than punishing her for the robbery. Serjeant Roberts, who took the prisoner in charge, said that on doing so she earnestly assured him that neither herself nor child had tasted a morsel of food for two days. They were perfect skeletons, and the child in particular, was in such a shocking state that its bones might be said to protrude through its skin. The only article of apparel that either of them had on was a thin gown and a frock, without a vestige of under-clothing to protect them from the severity of the weather. The prisoner stated, that she had been deserted by her husband about sixteen years ago, and that for a long time past she had been induced to live with the man who had now abandoned her. She had no means whatever of supporting herself, and, being driven to the last extremity, was obliged to pledge the prosecutor's property to save herself and child from starvation. Three days ago she had spent the last penny of the money in bread, the greater part of which the child had eaten, and since then not an atom of food had passed their lips, with the exception of that her landlord had kindly given them, and but for which they must have perished. The magistrate ordered them to be supplied with proper nourishment, and then sent to the workhouse.

An inquest was held on the body of a woman named Millbank. A Mrs. McFarlane stated, that she had been acquainted with the deceased the last eight months, during which period she had been in the greatest want, not unfrequently wanting the common necessaries of life. Deceased rented a ready-furnished room, for which she paid five shillings per week. Had been in ill-health for some time, and on Thursday last she was to have gone out to do a day's washing, but was too ill and weak. Was in the actual want of food, and witness sold for her a few trifling articles, of which she was still possessed, and procured her some beef tea. On Saturday she became rapidly worse, and she went to the dispensary. Mr. Clarke prescribed some medicine for her, at the same time advising her to procure a letter for her admission into the infirmary of the workhouse, which was accordingly procured, when she died on Sunday morning of a putrid fever.

Mr. French, surgeon, said he first saw the deceased on Saturday night, who was at that period in an advanced stage of putrid fever, and he treated her accordingly. Twelve hours after this he was again called, and found her quite dead. On making a *post mortem* examination, he found the body was in a dreadful state of green putrefaction. The liver was extremely diseased and presented all the appearances of the deceased being greatly addicted to drinking. Louisa Hopkins said, that for the last four months the deceased was in a dreadful state of destitution, never having more than one meal a-day, and this of the most scanty description. She could not earn more than three shillings per week. The reason she did not apply for parochial relief was, that she was in dread of a workhouse. She could not pay her rent, and was greatly in arrears. Witness had frequently given deceased victuals, or she would have starved.

An inquest on the body of a Mr. Mason, 70 years old, at Cumberwell, disclosed the fact that he died of serous apoplexy, caused by the want of food. His daughter said her father had formerly been a partner in the firm of Mason & Meyer, lead merchants and refiners of antimony. About two years ago he was unfortunate, and in consequence had been reduced to great strait. They had pawned every article of wearing apparel, until neither of them had more than what they wore. They lodged in a small back room—both slept in the same room—were frequently without food. He was in a very weak state for want of food. One day he kept his bed and became insensible. Urged to enter the workhouse, he exclaimed, "For God's sake don't remove me to-night—I will go to-morrow." He was accordingly taken the next day to the workhouse, where he died two hours after his admission.

A protracted inquiry was held before Mr. Wakely on the body of Mary Alloways, a poor sempstress, aged 63. The jury having viewed the body, expressed their horror at its wretchedly emaciated appearance. Ann Jones, the landlady of the house in which the deceased lodged, said she last saw her alive on Tuesday evening. She fancied there was something strange in her manner, for, as she went up stairs to bed, the deceased broke a piece from a loaf she had with her, and in a very singular manner said, "Only taste it; it is so very sweet." On Wednesday, a friend of deceased found her lying on the bed quite dead. There was a cup which had contained some liquid, lying upon a box by the window. On the table a letter was found, which the coroner ordered to be read to the jury. It was as follows:

Dear Friend.—I have spent many anxious days and sleepless nights. I cannot obtain work; therefore, it is impossible I can pay my rent, and I have preserved my watch as the only means that I have to put me in the ground. I have had it valued 10*l*. I judge that it will not cost more than 5*l*. to lay me in the ground in a humble way. The life I now live is a miserable one, and has been for several years. I have no one to care for me. Heaven is merciful. Yet a little while, and this feverish and unquiet spirit I most sincerely hope will be at rest, with the hope that the Almighty will pardon me. Was I sure of that I should leave the world without the least regret. I must chance what many great people have done before me. I am obliged to all my friends that have been kind to me. My dear friend, I hope you will let some one follow me to the grave, but that I leave to you. I do not wish any one here to know my affairs. You will do as you please with my clothes. I am sorry to say that I owe Mrs. White this day seven weeks' rent. (Nov. 5.)

I am very sorry to leave the world in debt. If my clothes and watch will not pay the expenses of my funeral and rent, it is my wish to be sent to the workhouse. My watch you will find in the large trunk. Adieu. God bless you all. My pen is so bad I fear you will not make out what I have written, and my mind is agitated.

Mrs. White, 41 Castle-street, Oxford-street.

The witness then proceeded:—Deceased was an extremely well-behaved woman, and had been highly educated. They always imagined she had some trifling income that helped to support her, but since her death they had found such was not the case, and that she supported herself by her needle. She had latterly appeared very desponding, which she stated arose from her inability to procure work, and the poor wages she received for it. She had once or twice adverted lately to the double suicide at Kilmarnock, and said she would rather follow that example than apply for relief. She had some friends, who occasionally gave her food, but she seldom had any other meals but breakfast and tea. The surgeon said, the body was wretchedly emaciated, and the deceased had all the appearance of having been completely starved. The coroner remarked, that this was an exceedingly painful case, and he feared he should have a great many more similar cases whilst poverty was treated as a crime. It was evident from the letter, that she was a well-educated and high-minded woman, but it was wholly impossible for them to judge of the misery she felt when she contemplated the degraded manner in which she would be treated if she made her distresses known. That fear operated very strongly upon some minds, for a short time since he held an inquest in the country on a poor laboring man who had cut his throat and died in a ditch from the fear he had of being compelled to enter a poor law union. The jury returned a verdict "That the deceased destroyed herself by taking oxalic acid, but in what state of mind she was at the time there was no evidence to show."

We have before us the details of the case of the laboring man, mentioned by Mr. Wakley; but those already described are sufficient. We add the following, from the Times, as an appropriate close to this article:—

A WARNING CRY.

BY MISS SHERIDAN CAREY.

Toiling from the morning gray—
Toiling, toiling, through the day,
Till the spirit faints away,
Bound, in triple iron, bound !
By the taper's famished light,
Toiling, toiling through the night,
Till the dimmed and aching sight
Sees but shadows gathering round,—

Till the lip's warm hue is gone—
Till the brow is worn and wan—
Till the pitying sun looks on
Gasping slaves in stupor cast;—
Toiling through the hours of pain,
Taxing hand, and heart and brain,
Bread—and *scarcely bread*—to gain !
Shall this—shall this ever last !

Shall the spoiler seize by stealth
Youth, and hope, and strength, and health !
Nature's dowry—nature's wealth—
Shall they—shall they ever be—
Youth and hope, an April beam ?
Strength, delusion ? health, a dream ?
Age—a fearful, ghastly theme—
Pain, and grief, and penury ?

Thou who seest ! Thou who hearest !
Thou the mourner's heart who cheerest !
Thou who veiled in clouds, appearest
Swift, and terrible, and strong !
Unto Thee, with stony eye,
Bloodless cheek, and boding cry,
Doomed to toil and toil—*or die*,
Want appealeth, "Lord, *how long ?*"

Ye whose "confidence" is gold,
False, rapacious, crafty, bold—
Who the laborer's hire withhold—
Who the fruits of toil deny—
Who the starving poor distress,
Who the weak, the old, oppress—
Tremble ! they shall have redress,
Lo! their groans are heard on high !

Tremble! tremble! well ye may,
Godless tyrants of a day,
Trampling on your fellow-clay!
Trampling *human hearts* to dust!
Vengeance is the Lord's! beware!
He will list the poor man's prayer,
Raise the crushed, and chase despair!
Tyrants, wo! THE LORD IS JUST!

November, 1844.

From the London Nonconformist.

MISS MARTINEAU AND MESMERISM.

The *Athenæum* of Saturday contains a long communication from Miss Martineau, detailing the particulars of a wonderful cure, which, she says, has been effected by mesmerism, after a serious illness of five years and a half. Of the character of the disease under which she suffered, she thus speaks:

"This is not the place in which to give any details of disease. It will be sufficient to explain briefly, in order to render my story intelligible, that the internal disease under which I suffered, appears to have been coming on for many years; that, after warnings of failing health, which I carelessly overlooked, I broke down, while travelling abroad, in June, 1839; that I sank lower and lower for three years after my return, and remained nearly stationary for two more preceding last June. During these five years I never felt wholly at ease for one single hour. I seldom had severe pain, but never entire comfort. A besetting sickness, almost disabling me from taking food for two years, brought me very low, and, together with other evils, it confined me to a condition of almost entire stillness—to a life passed between my bed and my sofa. It was not till after many attempts at gentle exercise, that my friends agreed with me that the cost was too great for any advantage gained; and at length it was clear that even going down one flight of stairs was imprudent. From that time I lay still, and, by means of this undisturbed quiet, and such an increase of opiates as kept down my most urgent discomforts, I passed the last two years with less suffering than the three preceding. There was, however, no favorable change in the disease. Everything was done for me that the best medical skill and science could suggest, and the most indefatigable humanity and family affection devise, but nothing could avail beyond mere alleviation. My dependence on opiates was desperate. My kind and vigilant medical friend—the most sanguine man I know, and the most bent upon keeping his patient hopeful—avowed to me last Christmas, and twice afterwards, that he found himself compelled to give up all hope of affecting the disease—of doing more than keeping me up, in collateral respects, to the highest practicable point. This was no surprise to me, for when any specific medicine is taken for above two years without affecting the disease, there is no more ground for hope in reason than in feeling. In June last I suffered more than usual, and new measures of alleviation were resorted to. As to all the essential points of the disease, I was never lower than immediately before I made trial of mesmerism."

Miss Martineau then gives the following narrative:—

"On Saturday, June 22d, Mr. Spencer Hall and my medical friend came, as arranged, at my worst hour of the day, between the expiration [of the effects] of one opiate, and the taking of another. By an accident, the gentlemen were rather in a hurry—a circumstance unfavorable to a first experiment. But result enough was obtained to encourage a further trial, though it was of a nature entirely unanticipated by me. I had no other idea than that I should either drop asleep or feel nothing. I did not drop asleep, and I did feel something very strange. Various passes were made by Mr. Hall; the first that appeared effectual, and the most so for some time after, were passes over the head made from behind, passes from the forehead to the back of the head, and a little way down the spine. A very short time after these were tried, and twenty minutes from the beginning of the *séance*, I became sensible of an extraordinary appearance, most unexpected, and wholly unlike anything I had ever conceived of. Something seemed to diffuse itself through the atmosphere—not like smoke, nor steam, nor haze—but most like a clear twilight, closing in from the windows and down from the ceiling, and in which one object after another melted away, till scarcely anything was left visible before my wide-open eyes. First the outline of all objects was blurred; then a bust, standing on a pedestal in a strong light, melted quite away; then the opposite bust; then the table, with its gay cover; then the floor, and the ceiling, till one small picture, high up on the opposite wall, only remained visible, like a patch of phosphoric light. I feared to move my eyes, lest the singular appearance should vanish; and I cried out, "Oh! deepen it! deepen it!" supposing this the precursor of the sleep. It could not be deepened, however; and when I glanced aside from the luminous point, I found that I need not fear the return of objects to their ordinary appearance while the passes were continued. The busts re-appeared, ghost-like, in the dim atmosphere, like faint shadows, except that their outlines, and the parts in the highest relief, burned with the same phosphoric light. The features of one, an Isis with bent head, seemed to be illumined by a fire on the floor, though this bust has its back to the windows. Wherever I glanced, all outlines were dressed in this beautiful light; and so they have been, at every *séance*, without exception, to this day; though the appearance has rather given way to drowsiness since I left off opiates entirely. This appearance continued during the remaining twenty minutes before the gentlemen were obliged to leave me. The other effects produced were, first, heat, oppression, and sickness, and, for a few hours after, disordered stomach, followed, in the course of the evening, by a feeling of lightness and relief, in which I thought I could hardly be mistaken."

The second application of mesmerism was made by Miss Martineau's maid:—

"Mr. Hall," says Miss Martineau, "was prevented by illness from coming over, too late to let me know. Unwilling to take my opiate while in the expectation of his arrival, and too wretched to do without some resource, I rang for my maid, and asked if she had any objection to attempt what she saw Mr. Hall do the day before. With the greatest alacrity she complied. Within one minute the twilight and phosphoric lights appeared; and in two or three more, a delicious sensation of ease spread through me—a cool comfort, before which all pain and distress gave way, oozing out, as it were, at the soles of my feet. During that hour, and almost the whole evening, I could no more help exclaiming with pleasure, than a person in torture crying out with pain. I became hungry, and ate with relish, for the first time for five years. There was no heat, oppression, or sickness, during the *séance*, nor any disorder afterwards. During the whole evening, instead of the lazy hot ease of opiates, under which pain is felt to lie in wait, I experienced something of the indescribable sensation of health, which I had quite lost and forgotten. I walked about my rooms, and was gay and talkative. Something of this relief remained till the next morning; and then there was no re-action. I was no worse than usual; and perhaps rather better. Nothing is to me more unquestionable and more striking about this influence than the absence of all re-action. Its highest exhilaration is followed, not by depression or exhaustion, but by a further renovation. From the first hour to the present, I have never fallen back a single step. Every point gained has been steadily held. Improved composure of nerve and spirits has followed upon every mesmeric exhilaration. I have been spared all the weaknesses of convalescence, and carried through all the usually formidable enterprises of return from deep disease to health with a steadiness and tranquillity astonishing to all witnesses. At this time, before venturing to speak of my health as established, I believe myself more firm in nerve, more calm and steady in mind and spirits, than at any time of my life before. So much, in consideration of the natural and uncommon fear of the mesmeric influence as pernicious excitement—as a kind of intoxication."

Miss Martineau mentions several incidents:—

"Another striking incident occurred in one of the earliest of my walks. My mesmerist and I had reached a headland nearly half a mile from home, and were resting there, when she proposed to mesmerize me a little—partly to refresh me for our return, and partly to see whether any effect would be produced in a new place and while a fresh breeze was blowing. She merely laid her hand on my forehead, and in a minute or two the usual appearance came, assuming a strange air of novelty from the scene in which I was. After the blurring of the outlines, which made all objects more dim than the dull gray day had already made them, the phosphoric lights appeared, glorifying every rock and headland, the horizon, and all the vessels in sight. One of the dirtiest and meanest of the steam-tugs in the port was passing at the time, and it was all dressed in heavenly radiance—the last object that any imagination would select as an element of a vision. Then, and often before and since, did it occur to me that if I had been a pious and very ignorant Catholic, I could not have escaped the persuasion that I had seen heavenly visions. Every glorified object before my eyes would have been a revelation, and my mesmerist, with the white halo round her head, and the illuminated profile, would have been a saint or an angel."

From the Dublin Evening Post.

TEMPERANCE—SALE OF BARLEY.

35 Eccles street, 11th Nov. 1844.

Dear Sir:—Will you have the kindness to give this letter, and the enclosed, a place in your columns? Mr. Sturge is so generally known in England and in this country, and, indeed, all over the world, for his benevolent exertions to improve the condition of the human race, that I am particularly anxious to make his sentiments respecting the use of intoxicating drinks, and of the morality of giving it countenance or support, as generally known as possible, to the Irish people. I fully agree with Joseph Sturge in his opinions on this important question. I feel that it would be wrong of me to be instrumental in turning the good grain which Providence has given man for his sustenance, into poisons utterly destructive of the virtue, the comfort, and the happiness, of my fellow-men. Feeling that I could not, with an easy mind, continue to sell grain to brewers and distillers, I mentioned the matter to my brother and partner, some years ago, when he kindly consented to give up that part of our business; so that we declined taking malt or barley for sale on commission. So long as the drinking customs of society continue, I think virtue and morality will be at a low ebb in the community, and that no exertions of benevolence will have any effect in stemming the torrent of misery and destitution that overflow the land, and all the evils which follow in their train, until intoxicating drinks are completely banished from amongst us. To me it would seem as wise to pour oil on a conflagration, in the hope of extinguishing it, as to supply such drinks to our people, and hope to banish crime and misery. The time has arrived when intelligent men should turn their thoughts seriously to this important subject. Health is destroyed—peace and happiness are destroyed—property, to an immense amount, is destroyed, by the use of alcohol, under its various disguises; and no one earthly advantage is gained from it, to counterbalance all these evils. Is it not, therefore, the truest wisdom for men to combine together for its utter destruction? We gave twenty millions of money to free our negro brethren from the gripe of their inhuman masters. I would consent cheerfully to pay a similar sum to shut up all the breweries and distilleries in the kingdom. If this were done, (weighty as the cost would be,) the gain to the nation would be immense. It would amount to millions of money annually. To describe the happiness it would create, language is impotent. Faithfully yours,

JAMES HAUGHTON.

"TO C. D——, CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON.

"Birmingham, 11th month 5th, 1844.

"Esteemed Friend:—Thy letter of the 4th ultimo, has the following remark on the notice contained in our last Monthly Circular:—'The singular resolution you have come to, as to not selling malting barley, has been much canvassed here to-day. I regret it much, and the more so as I can discover no good and sound reason for it.' This observation, and some other circumstances, induce me to give a further explanation why this resolution was adopted, believing that myself, and many other of our friends, though differing in opinion, will not condemn a course which results from a conviction of duty.

"Intemperance produces such an incalculable amount of vice and misery, that I consider it right to use my influence to promote the principles of total abstinence. This I feel the more bound to do, as nearly twenty years' personal experience, and much observation in this and other parts of the world, has convinced me that fermented liquors are not necessary to health, and that those who refrain even from what is termed the moderate use of them, are, in consequence, capable of more bodily and mental exertion, and exempt from many maladies which afflict others.

"In accordance with these views, our firm has long altogether declined the sale of malt, or the supply of any grain to distilleries, and converted to other uses cellars which, many years ago, we let to wine and spirit merchants. Our continuing to take commissions for the sale and purchase of barley for the purpose of malting, has for some years caused me much uneasiness; and I have recently been so fully convinced that it is wrong to do so, that I must have withdrawn from our concern had it not been relinquished. The belief that we are responsible for the means of acquiring, as well as for the use we make of our property, and that we cannot exercise a too rigid watchfulness over our *own* conduct, is compatible with perfect charity towards those who differ from us in opinion. I am, respectfully,

"JOSEPH STURGE."

A PRACTICAL JOKE.

In some parts of Europe it is not unusual to bring about matrimonial engagements by means of advertisements.

Some years ago, it was agreed in a gay party of ladies and gentlemen in London, that an advertisement should be inserted in a morning paper, as from a young lady, rich and beautiful, who felt inclined to enter into the state of matrimony. In the course of the day, letters were received from between fifty and sixty swains or all descriptions, in reply to each of whom an answer was addressed, stating that so far the writer was not objected to, but that the lady wished, previous to his being introduced to her, to see him, at the same time requesting each to be in the pit of Drury Lane Theatre on the following evening, dressed in a blue coat, white pantaloons, and a scarlet vest, and immediately on the conclusion of the first act to stand upon the benches, flourish a white handkerchief in one hand, and apply a glass to the right eye with the other.

Everything succeeded so well, that, as soon as the curtain fell, above fifty individuals, of all ages, forthwith mounted the benches, from the smooth-chinned Adonis of eighteen, to the sleek, portly, self-confident widower of fifty, and the emaciated bachelor of sixty, all dressed in uniform, according to orders, in the gayest style, and with the utmost nicety, to make the deeper impression on the heart of the fair prize!

High swelled their bosoms with hope, as, with studied action, the handkerchief was flourished and the glass was raised to the eye. But who shall paint the astonishment, dismay, and rage which were alternately depicted on their countenances, as they gazed upon each other and discovered the sudden failure of all their hopes? With almost incredible velocity they descended from their unenviable attitudes, to "hide their diminished heads" among the crowd.

It is a singular fact, and one which does not tell well for human nature, that most people who condemn a practical joke, as unjust, and, perhaps, ill-natured, are often the first to laugh at and applaud one which is directed against any one of their friends, with adroitness and success—while the poor victim of a wicked wag exclaims, with lachrymose countenance, in the language of the pelted frogs, "It is fun for you, but death to me."—*Boston Mercantile Journal*.

THE POWERS OF VEGETATION.

In those good days of old, when there was no cornfactor in England to counteract our Redeemer's prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," by hoarding up vast stores of grain, until mouldiness and vermin have rendered it unfit for the use of man, there stood at Walton Hall a water mill, for the interest of the proprietor, and the good of the country round. Time, the great annihilator of all human inventions, saving taxation and the national debt, laid this fabric low in ruins some sixty years ago, and nothing now remains to show the place where it once stood, except a massive mill-stone, which measures full seventeen feet in circumference. The ground where the mill stood having been converted into meadow, this stone lay there unnoticed and unknown, (save by the passing hay-maker,) from the period of the mill's desolation to the autumn of the year 1813, when one of our nut-eating wild animals, probably by way of a winter store, deposited a few nuts under its protecting cover. In the course of the following summer, a single nut having escaped the teeth of the destroyer, sent up its verdant shoot through the hole in the centre of the procumbent mill-stone. One day I pointed out this rising tree to a gentleman who was standing by, and said, "If this young plant escape destruction, some time or other it will support the mill-stone, and raise it from the ground." He seemed to doubt this. In order, however, that the plant might have a fair chance of success, I directed that it might be defended from accident and harm by means of a wooden paling. Year after year it increased in size and beauty; and when its expansion had entirely filled the hole in the centre of the mill-stone, it gradually began to raise up the mill-stone itself from the centre of its long repose. This huge mass of stone is now eight inches above the ground, and is entirely supported by the stem of the nut-tree, which has risen to the height of twenty-five feet, and bears excellent fruit. Strangers often inspect this original curiosity. When I meet a visitor whose mild physiognomy informs me that his soul is proof against the stormy wind of politics, which now-a-days set all the world in a ferment, I venture a small attempt at pleasantry, and say, "that I never pass this tree and mill-stone without thinking of poor old Mr. Bull, with a weight of eight hundred millions of pounds round his galled neck; fruitful source of speculation to a Machiavel, but of sorrow to a Washington."—*Waterton's Essay on Natural History.*

ANIMAL INSTINCT.

A friend, who returned not long since from a tour through our Western country, has related to us a touching instance of instinct in animals; and as all such circumstances possess natural interest, we have thought it worth while to record it. Our friend was returning from a short hunt one day, when he espied near his cabin a large squirrel in the top of an oak tree, and deliberately aiming his fowling piece he discharged its contents at the frisky animal, without any apparent effect, as the little creature retained his hold unmoved. Observing this he got an axe and began striking at the oak to bring the squirrel down.

This, however, for some time produced no such result, but at length, probably finding the jarring of the tree painful, the animal started and came directly down to the lowest limb of the tree just over our friend's head, where, seating himself on his hind legs, he began to chatter most piteously, and at the same time holding up one of his fore legs (which he then saw was badly broken) with the other, much as a person supports one arm with the opposite member, he looked down on the sportsman most imploringly, and began to lick his wound. This had the desired effect upon our friend, who turned away, conscious of having learned a lesson of humanity and forbearance, and left the poor squirrel to make his escape without farther molestation.—*Boston Transcript.*

COURTSHIP OF A BASHFUL CLERGYMAN.

The Rev. John Brown, of Haddington, the well-known author of the Self-Interpreting Bible, was a man of singular bashfulness. In token of the truth of this statement I need only state that his courtship lasted seven years. Six years and a half passed away, and the reverend gentleman had got no further forward than he had been the first six days. This state of things became intolerable; a step in advance must be made, and Mr. Brown summoned all his courage for the deed. "Janet," said he, as they sat one night in solemn silence, "we've been acquainted now for six years an' mair, and I've ne'er gotten a kiss yet; d'ye think I might take one, my bonnie girl?" "Just as you like, John; only be becoming and proper wi' it." "Surely, Janet; we'll ask a blessing."

The blessing was asked, the kiss was taken, and the worthy divine, perfectly overpowered with the blissful sensation, most rapturously exclaimed, "Oh, woman, but it is *gude*—we'll *return thanks*."

Six months made the pious couple man and wife, "and," added his descendant, who humorously told the tale, "a happier couple never spent a long and useful life together."

A Story for your Son, Sir!—[The following incident was often told us in our younger days. Possibly, it has been in print—but the newspapers are so full now of Louis Phillippe's grand visit to the Queen, that this glance at one of his adventures while and exile among us, may be, at any rate, worth recalling.—*Mirror*.]

The present King of France, one very cold evening, was riding from Boston to Salem on the outside of the stage. He was entirely without money to pay for a lodging that night, and he began to make friends with the driver to get part of his bed. After a while, the driver's compassion was roused. "You are not a very clean looking chap," said he to the poor Frenchman, "but my bed is in the harness-room where there's a stove, and if you'll keep your trowsers on, and sleep outside, *I dont mind!*"

During Crawford's Secretaryship of State, one of the clerks in his Department wrote to an officeholder in Alabama, as follows:

"Sir: This Department wishes to be informed by you how far up the river Tombigbee runs.
Yours, &c."

To which the Southron, not having the fear of removal before his eyes, and being wickedly instigated by fun, answered:

"Sir: I have the honor to inform you that the river Tombigbee does not *run up* at all.
Yours, &c."

This was undoubtedly funny, but the next mail brought the following droll response from Washington:

"Sir: I have the honor to inform you that the Department will dispense with your further services.
Yours, &c."

Associated Agency.

Central Office, 20 Wall Street, (basement,) New-York.

THE attention of persons who are desirous of improving their condition in life, is respectfully invited to the following great bargains now offered in this office.

864 acres of land with improvements, in Lyonsdale, Lewis Co. N. Y. 40 miles north of Utica, with half of the immense water-power of High Falls, on Black River; a large and never-failing stream, with sixty feet fall, with a saw-mill in operation. The whole, or a part will be sold. Price for the whole only $12,000.

A farm of 750 acres of the best quality of land in Frederick Co. Virginia, 40 miles from Washington City, in a high state of cultivation, with superior buildings, including stock and farming utensils, for $25,000.

3,000 acres of valuable land in Luzerne Co. Pennsylvania, with improvements, water-power, &c. for $37,500.

A large portion of the Town of Mount Carmel, Wabash Co. Illinois, with extensive tracts of land in the vicinity, including two villages, with Houses, Lots, Ferries Coal-Banks, and an abundance of water-power. Water communication by way of the lakes to New-York, and by the Mississippi to New Orleans.

A part of the town of Toolesborough, Louisa Co. Iowa, on the River Mississippi, with several thousand acres of land adjoining.

8,660 acres of first-rate rolling land in Lincoln Co. Missouri, on the Mississippi, 1,000 acres Prarie, the balance timbered land. Price $5,000.

20,000 acres of excellent farming land, very favorably situated in Hampshire Co. Virginia, at $2 an acre.

40,000 acres of choice selected land in Michigan, at $1 an acre.

2,500 acres of land in West Tennessee, Perry Co. will be sold, a great bargain.

60,000 acres, in Fentriss Co. Tennessee, in tracts varying from 1,000 to 5,000 acres each, of good farming land, with Iron, Coal, Saltpetre, Epsom Salts, Copperas, and water-power.

214,000 acres in Washington, Green, Cock, Sevier, and Blount counties, Tennessee, at 25 cents an acre. On these lands are Iron, Bituminous Coal, Fine Clay for Pottery, Feldspar, Quartz, Lime, Alum, and an inexhaustible supply of water-power.

Several of the above tracts of land are peculiarly adapted to the settlement of industrial Associations.

Also, for sale in this office, a great variety of Farms, Mills, Houses, Town-Lots, &c. in the different Counties of the States of New-York and New Jersey, and in all the Western States and Territories, at the lowest market prices, and with warranted title.

Having 26 Branch offices in the West, 9 in New England, and 4 in Europe, our Associated Agency offers the greatest facilities to persons wishing to buy, sell, or exchange Real Estate. All such are invited to command our services.

A principal object of the Association is, to put in practical operation a plan, by which persons wishing to purchase Real Estate of any description, may, with the least possible delay, trouble, or expense, be informed where they can find property for sale, adapted to their circumstances and wants; and by which the seller and the buyer may be brought together, to make such transactions as may be mutually beneficial.

We have already a rich Register of property for sale, to which we invite the attention of those who wish to purchase Real Estate of any description, or in any part of the country.

We also conduct an Agency for non-resident proprietors of Western Lands.

Agency for *procuring* and for *selling* Patents in the United States and in Europe.

Agency for receiving orders for Arnold's *Superior* Scythe Sharpening Rifles, Price in New-York, $6 a groce.

Agency for effecting insurance against fire in all parts of the Union.

Agency for sale of the Recipe for the genuine Berlin Hams, superior to Westphalias.

Agency for procuring Loans on Bond and Mortgage.

BUFFUM & Co.
Basement Office, 20 Wall Street.

November 28, 1844.—tf.

Graham House, New Arrangement.

ROSWELL GOSS informs his friends and the public, that he has enlarged his Boarding Establishment, known as the

GRAHAM HOUSE, 63 BARCLAY STREET,

by adding to it the adjoining house, and is prepared to accommodate transient or permanent Boarders on the most favorable terms. All friends of Temperance desiring a quiet home, and freedom from the fumes of Alcohol and Tobacco, are invited to patronize this house. The vegetable system will be strictly adhered to, but a table will be served for those who prefer a mixed diet. Croton shower and warm baths free.

October 17. ROSWELL GOSS.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent*. Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished with a fine engraving. Price, 62 1-2 cents.

Education and Industry !

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of 15 or 20 boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association. The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education*.

Broughton Meadows, Northampton, April 14, 1844.

FREE CALICOES!

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortmen of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail.

CHARLES WISE,
Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets.

Philadelphia, 8th, mo. 17th 1843. tf.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE.

No. 31, North Fifth street.

The National Anti-Slavery Standard, will be issued regularly from this office, on Thursday of every week.

Terms—the same as in New-York; i. e. $2,00 a year if paid in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months.

$10,00, in advance, will pay for six copies for one year, sent to one address; and $30,00 will pay for twenty copies.

A full assortment of anti-slavery publications is kept constantly on hand. Also, a handsome variety of miscellaneous books, and useful and fancy stationery.

All letters relating to the business of the office should be directed to *J. Miller McKim*, No. 31 North Fifth st.

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